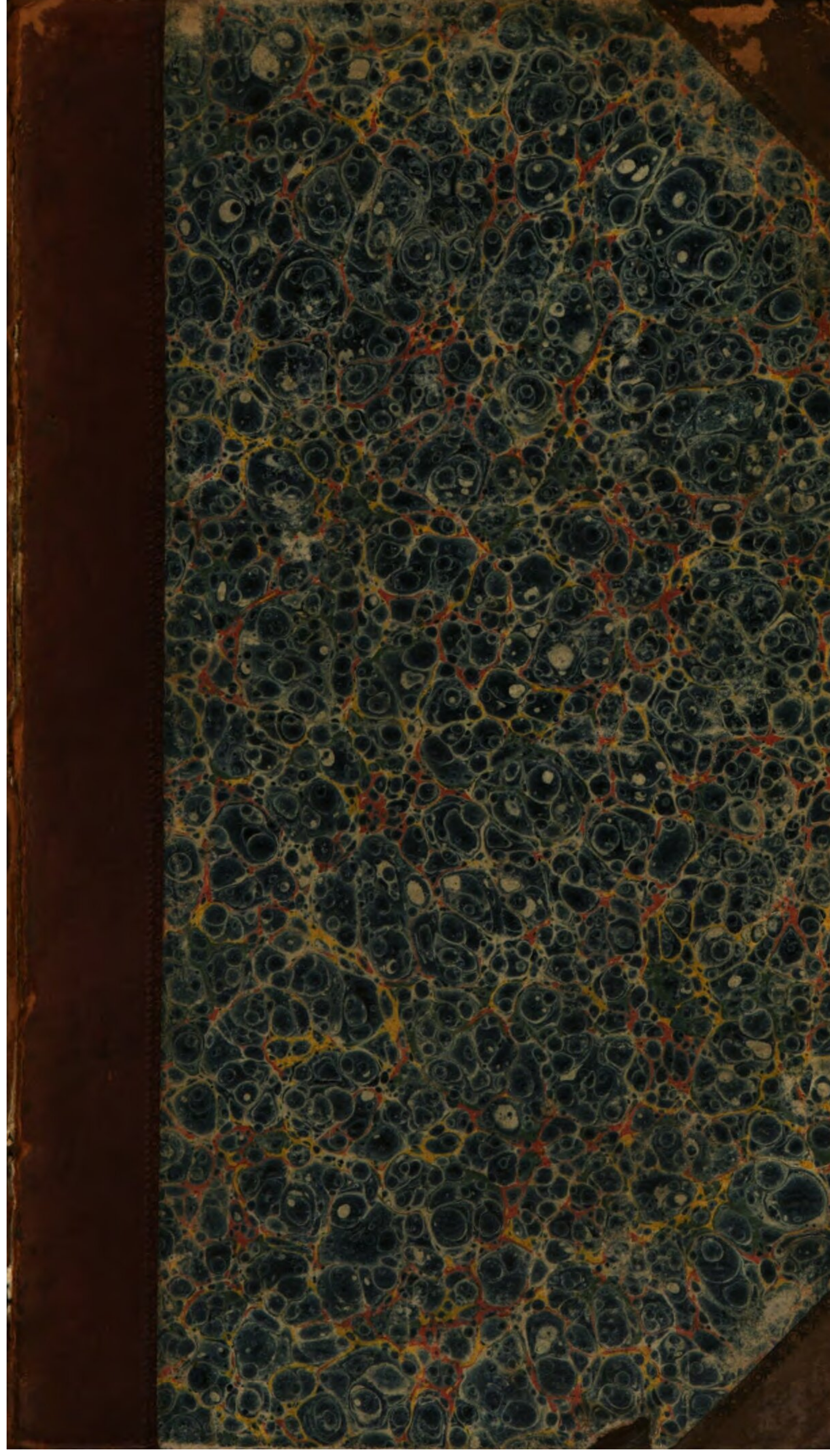




gt. C. 313 $\frac{9}{2}$ Take

<36630051160018

<36630051160018

Bayer. Staatsbibliothek

K. T. H. H. H. H. H.

nom Dr. J. Hodgkin
12 Sept. 1838.

<36630051170010

<36630051170010

Bayer. Staatsbibliothek

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF

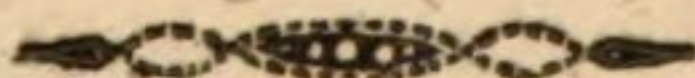
MEMBERS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

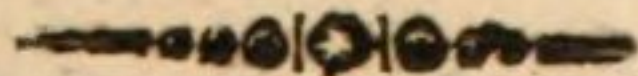


By HENRY TUKE.



VOLUME II.

J. PARNEL, J. CAMM, W. ROBINSON, &c. &c.



York:

PRINTED FOR W. ALEXANDER, AND SOLD BY HIM;

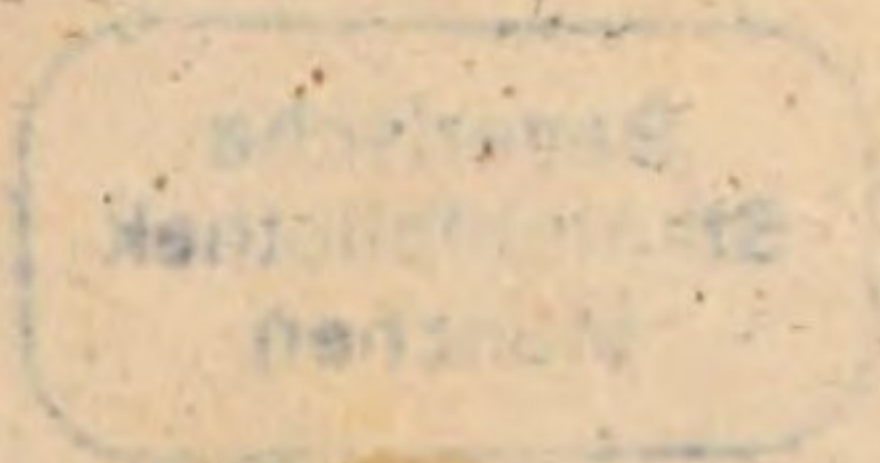
SOLD ALSO BY

M. M. AND E. WEBB, BRISTOL;

DARTON, HARVEY, AND CO. W. PHILLIPS,

AND W. DARTON, JUN. LONDON.

1815.





Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

Advertisement.

The Editor expected to give in this volume, a short Biographical Sketch of the Author, by Lindley Murray; but a variety of considerations have operated to induce the printing of it in a distinct pamphlet; yet in such a form as to bind up with sets of the Author's works, which may then be had complete in 4 vols.

The Supplement to the life of George Fox is so printed as to be bound up, either with this or the first volume of the "Biographical Notices," at the option of the purchaser.

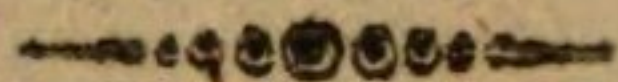
APPENDIX
ADDITIONAL

TABLE

The Editor observed in the margin of the
Historical Sketch of the State, by James H. Murray,
that a variety of considerations have been
presented in a historical paper, and in a
few lines up with the text, which may
then be considered as a whole.

The Supplement to the History of Georgia, by J. H. Murray,
as to be found in the same volume as the
"Historical Sketch," at the end of the volume.

DOCTRINES AND
BY H. M.



SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

LIFE OF GEORGE FOX,

CONTAINING

A BRIEF REVIEW

OF THE

DOCTRINES *and* PRACTICES

INCULCATED BY HIM.



SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

TO THE

LIFE SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

TO THE

ALTHOUGH the Biography of George Fox
has been published in many forms
LIFE OF GEORGE FOX

and the present work is a new and
complete edition of the original
CONTAINING

many new and interesting facts
and a full and complete
A BRIEF REVIEW

OF THE

THE HISTORY OF THE
DOCTRINES AND PRACTICES

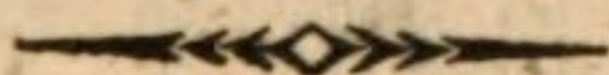
OF THE
INFLUENCED BY HIM

THE HISTORY OF THE
DOCTRINES AND PRACTICES
OF THE
INFLUENCED BY HIM

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

LIFE of GEORGE FOX, &c.



ALTHOUGH the Biographical Notice which has been taken of George Fox, contains an occasional statement of the principles and practices which he propagated, it seems a proper, in the conclusion, to draw them into one point of view, and exhibit them in such a manner, that the reader may be capable of forming a judgment of their rectitude, and of the beneficial effects resulting from them.

The fundamental principle which he was most concerned to inculcate, was the universality of the Light, Grace, or Spirit of Christ, and its sufficiency to teach men all things necessary to salvation. Yet, while he bore testimony to this Divine principle, as the anointing, which the Apostle John told the primitive Christians, taught them of all things, he was far from denying the use of other means, which God has condescended to afford for the instruction of mankind; whether through the

Holy Scriptures, the Preaching of the Gospel, or any other outward instruction, consistent with the Christian dispensation.

The principal use, however, of all these means he considered to be, to bring the minds of those who partook of them, to an acquaintance with the inward teacher, the Light of Christ manifested in the heart; by an attention to which, the benefits of the sufferings of our blessed Redeemer come to be experienced, according to the testimony of one Apostle on behalf of himself and his fellow labourers in the Gospel; 1 John i. 5. 6. 7: "This then is the message which we have heard of him, and declare unto you; that God is Light, and in Him is no darkness at all. If we say that we have fellowship with Him, and walk in darkness, we lie and do not the truth; but if we walk in the light, as He is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all Sin."

George Fox and our early friends might, and often did, adopt these words of the Apostle, as the peculiar message given to them. For, however they may have been charged to the contrary, they fully believed in the benefits to be derived from our Saviour's sufferings and death; both as a propitiation for the sins of mankind, and as the Mediator between God and man.

In occasionally giving a brief statement of the substance of his sermons, Christ is often mentioned by George Fox, in both these capacities. To the soundness of his Christian principles, his friend George Whitehead bears ample testimony, in his Preface to the volume of Epistles noticed in the Appendix. G. Whitehead's words are: "This our deceased friend, and servant of Jesus Christ, truly testified of Him in all respects, both as come in the flesh and in the spirit; both as Christ was and is our only Mediator and Advocate; and as He was and is, "God over all, blessed for ever." And his knowledge and ministry of our Lord Jesus Christ, being after the Spirit, in life and power, did no ways imply any lessening of the dignity or glory of Christ, nor any defect of faith or love to Christ, as he came and suffered in the flesh for mankind; for he highly esteemed Christ's sufferings, death, resurrection and glory; and powerfully testified of the virtue, power, blessed and spiritual design, fruit, and effects thereof, as revealed and witnessed by his Holy Spirit."

It was from this Divine principle, or Holy Spirit, which may be considered as the leading feature of his doctrine, that he considered all true qualification for Gospel ministry was to be derived; and all ministers qualified rightly to comply with the Apostolic injunction: "If any man speak,

let him speak as the oracles of God ; if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth." This spirit he considered so sufficient for the purpose of Gospel ministry, as to preclude the necessity for human learning, or any other acquirements, except the gifts and graces which the Holy Spirit confers. This spirit he also considered sufficient to qualify for the performance of divine worship ; which may be performed either in silent adoration, or by public religious service, if any are rightly called or moved to it.

It must be admitted that these principles, if they were generally acted upon, would, in their result, tend to the subversion of those modes of worship and ministry, which depend on human ordination and appointment, for which establishments are often formed, and the expense of them is imposed not only on those who unite in them, but also on such as conscientiously dissent, either from the principles or practices taught in these established churches. It may therefore be reasonably supposed, that this part of George Fox's doctrines, subjected him and his friends to much persecution ; but their long and patient suffering under it, produced at length the mitigation of divers laws in their favour ; and perhaps it will not be too much to say, that this Society has been, more than any other, a means of procuring the extension of reli-

gious liberty, and of opening the eyes of many persons, to the benefits resulting from religious toleration. The belief that man is accountable to his Maker only for his religious opinions and practices, provided these do not infringe on any moral or civil obligation, early impressed the mind of this enlightened man; and it is a cause of consolation to believe, that it is a principle, which is now making a rapid progress in the Christian world.

As a free exercise of Gospel ministry on disinterested principles, by those who were "called of God," was earnestly promoted by George Fox, so all systems, not coinciding with these views, were the subjects of his animadversion. "Freely ye have received, freely give," might be considered as his motto. From this principle he was led to oppose the views of many of his contemporaries, who made a trade of preaching, and who, not unfrequently manifested by their conduct, that they regarded the fleece more than the flock. All established maintenance for ministers was disapproved by him, and he was particularly opposed to that arising from tithes, which he considered not only objectionable on the general principle he had adopted, of a free ministry, but also on account of its reverting to the old legal system, from which the Gospel of Christ had emancipated its true professors. The principles which have been

maintained by the friends of George Fox, have, it is presumed, thrown much light on this subject; and perhaps will eventually be a means, with other co-operating causes, of removing this political, as well as religious, evil of tithes, from the professors of Christianity, at least in this country.*

Being well taught in the school of Christ, Geo. Fox appears to have particularly imbibed the spirit of that evangelical song, with which our blessed Redeemer was introduced into the world: "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, goodwill towards men." As in his successful Gospel labours, he uniformly ascribed the praise to his Divine master, so in his conduct towards others he remarkably exemplified the latter part of this sacred Anthem: "On earth peace, goodwill

* As the Author's health did not permit him to revise the 2d volume, including this "Supplement," the Editor conceives it will comport with the general instructions received from his valued relative, to supply the following paragraph.

The objection of George Fox to many of the religious forms and ceremonies in general use, was a prominent part of his system. His opinion appears to have been, that most of these forms were unsanctioned by Scripture; and that, by drawing men from the work of religion in the heart, they were calculated rather to oppose, than to promote, true piety. The use of Water Baptism, in particular, he thought tended to divert mankind from that "one baptism" which now saveth; "not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God."

towards men," formed indeed a striking feature in the doctrines propagated by this excellent man. He carried this sentiment so far, as to disapprove of all "wars and fightings," conceiving them to proceed from the unmortified passions of men; and to have no political necessity, if these passions were subjected to the influence of the Cross of Christ, and regulated by the doctrines and precepts which he and his Apostles taught to their followers. The excellency of the testimony which George Fox and his friends have borne against war, is much more generally acknowledged than acted upon. But, on this subject, I believe, light is spreading; and that it will ultimately so far prevail, that "Nation shall not lift up sword against Nation, neither shall they learn war any more," is among the many consoling hopes, which the spirit of prophecy holds out to the believing christian.

Swearing, not only profane, but legal, was considered by George Fox as so expressly forbidden by our Saviour, that he and his friends, consonant with the words of the Apostle James, entirely declined the use of oaths. The sufferings which he underwent on this account are already related. His friends also largely partook of the same cup, and all from professors of the christian name, for obedience to a positive command of their common master. But in this respect the laws are now fa-

vourable to the Society of Friends, and they have reason to believe that many of their fellow christians of other Societies lament the frequency at least, of legal swearing.

While George Fox's capacious mind embraced the great and important principles already noticed, he was also attentive to some minor evils which existed in the christian world, and which he considered inconsistent with the christian character. Of these the complimentary and flattering titles given to men, the addressing individuals in the plural number, and bowing, or putting off the hat, struck him as inconsistent with the simplicity of the Gospel, and with the doctrines which our Saviour taught, when personally on earth. These practices he therefore laid aside; and the disuse of them by his friends, the plainness of their dress, and their not regulating it by the fashion of the day, continue to be marks of the members of this Society.

Although the principles of George Fox, both as to civil and religious rights, were very liberal, yet they were far from being such as led to anarchy and confusion; and therefore in the Society which he had been the principal means of forming, he early saw the necessity of establishing a christian discipline, by which its members were employed

in watching over and admonishing each other, when occasion required; and those whose conduct became reproachful, and could not be reclaimed, were disowned, or disunited, and the Society cleared of the discredit which might otherwise attach to it. However infallible was the principle of Divine Light and Grace which he preached, he well knew that those who professed a belief in it, were fallible men. He therefore wisely considered, for the purpose already mentioned, as well as for various others, relating to the internal œconomy of the society, that meetings for discipline were essentially necessary. These he was instrumental in establishing upon a plan that has now existed about 150 years; and experience has shown the wisdom in which they were made.

Among the peculiarities of George Fox's views, was the part which he assigned to the female sex, so far as related to themselves, in the discipline which he had established, and in asserting their call, by the great Head of the Church, to a part in the ministry. One obvious effect resulting from these regulations was, to raise the sex in usefulness and importance, and consequently to elevate their character, both in religious and civil society. This, it has been often observed, is one of the many beneficial effects of Christianity; but no Society of Christians has carried this so far as

that of Friends; and there is, perhaps, no society in which the sex is more virtuous, or more respectable, or more happy.

Besides the various matters already mentioned, this enlightened Reformer, (for so I hope I may now be permitted to style him,) testified against those public amusements and diversions which are much in use among professing Christians; but as there are many other religious people, who, in a great measure, concur with him *in these respects*, it may not be necessary to rank *these* among his peculiarities. His sentiments, however, and the practice of the society in reference to these things, may fairly be considered as exalting their moral character; and when all the principles and practices propagated by this true Follower of Christ, are fully taken into view, I believe it will be found that few, if any, have approached nearer to the standard of those Christian precepts inculcated by our blessed Redeemer, in his most excellent Sermon on the Mount, and that no principles are better calculated to promote the happiness of man in this world, or more adapted to prepare him for a state of happiness in that which is to come.

END of the SUPPLEMENT.

PREFACE to VOLUME II.

THE pious and benevolent Author of the following work, had nearly completed the volume, before he became so much indisposed as to be unable to give it his finishing hand. But the useful and excellent nature of the work demands its publication. It may be considered as the last legacy of the Author, to the members of that Society, whom he dearly loved, and for whose best interests he felt himself deeply concerned. It is therefore a debt of justice, both to his memory, and to the persons for whom it was composed, to present it to them nearly in the state in which he left it.

The work in its present condition, except the notice respecting William Ames, the materials for which had not been seasonably procured, received the approbation of the Morning Meeting of Friends in London, before the Author's decease. But as it was his intention to give an account, in its proper place, of this intrepid and steady advocate for

the cause of truth and righteousness, the omission has been supplied by another person. The notice will be found at p. 129; and it is hoped, that this supply will prove more satisfactory to the reader, than if it had been wholly omitted.

Whether any Friend may, in future, proceed in the accomplishment of these "Biographical Notices," is at present uncertain. It is, however, a desirable object, that so entertaining and useful a work, as memorials of the lives and characters of many distinguished members of our society, should be completed according to the plan of the Author, for the comfort, example, and encouragement of many amongst us, especially of the rising generation. And it is hoped that some judicious person, qualified for so interesting a work, may feel his mind engaged to carry forward and complete, the views of our dear departed friend.

It is presumed that the present volume, from the variety of characters which it contains, and from most of them being but little, if at all, known to many Friends, will excite a peculiar interest and attention in its readers; and produce in their minds that satisfaction, which arises from the perception of new and revived evidences, in support of those principles which have long commanded their respect and attachment.

CONTENTS TO VOLUME II.

CHAPTER I.

	<i>Page.</i>
LIFE OF JAMES PARNEL	1—20

CHAP. II.

LIFE OF JOHN CAMM	21—28
-----------------------------	-------

CHAP. III.

LIFE OF WILLIAM ROBINSON	29—38
------------------------------------	-------

CHAP. IV.

LIFE OF MARMADUKE STEVENSON	39—44
---------------------------------------	-------

CHAP. V.

LIFE OF MARY DYER	45—50
-----------------------------	-------

CHAP. VI.

LIFE OF WILLIAM LEDDRA	51—58
----------------------------------	-------

CHAP. VII.

LIFE OF THOMAS ALDAM, &c.	59—66
-----------------------------------	-------

	<i>Page.</i>
CHAP. VIII.	
LIFE OF JAMES NAYLER	67—92
CHAP. IX.	
LIFE OF JOHN LILBURNE	93—106
CHAP. X.	
LIFE OF GEORGE FOX THE YOUNGER	107—122
CHAP. XI.	
LIFE OF RICHARD HUBBERTHORNE	122—128
CHAP. XII.	
LIFE OF WILLIAM AMES	129—140
CHAP. XIII.	
LIFE OF EDWARD BURROUGH	141—180
CHAP. XIV.	
LIFE OF HUMPHREY SMITH	181—193
CHAP. XV.	
LIFE OF JOHN AUDLAND	195—204
CHAP. XVI.	
LIFE OF WILLIAM CATON	205—220
CHAP. XVII.	
LIFE OF SAMUEL FISHER	221—232

CHAPTER 1.

LIFE OF JAMES PARNEL.

AS the chronological order of my work, is regulated by the decease of the party, the first subject presented to my notice, is JAMES PARNEL, a young man who died in prison, when only 19 years of age; and who may be considered as the protomartyr of our Society, in support of its religious principles.

He was born at Retford, in the year 1636 or 7, and received a liberal education, probably at the Grammar School there. Of his parents I do not find any account, except that the father was a tradesman, which is incidentally noticed in one of the son's publications.

Whilst James was at school, and for a short time after he left it, he appears to have been of a wild disposition. His account of himself at this period is: "I may well say with Paul, 'Of sinners I was chief;' for according to my years,

I was as perfect in sin and iniquity, as any in the town where I lived ; yea and exceeded many in the same." But his mind appears to have been very early visited with the manifestations of the Holy Spirit and Light of Christ ; by yielding to which, he became sensible of the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and of the vanity of many of the customs of the world. This produced a manifest change in his conduct and behaviour, in consequence of which, they who had loved him in his vain conversation, hated him so much the more in his conversion. Many of his own relations were also much dissatisfied, and he became an object of ridicule in the streets, so that he was accounted as one not worthy to live ; and some were so violent as to say, that he who killed him would do God service.

These sufferings he was, however, enabled to bear with great firmness, and dependance on that Divine Power which had visited his young and tender mind. This he gratefully acknowledges in these words: " He that called me unto himself, that I might no longer follow the vain courses of the world, nor set my delight on things below, but that I might serve Him in newness of life, He by his power kept me, and gave me strength to bear his cross, and despise the shame ; so that neither foul words, nor fair words, could

cause me to deny what God, by his grace, had wrought in my heart."

In this state of mind he became dissatisfied with the forms of worship then most prevalent, and was desirous of finding a people with whom he could cordially unite. This desire it seems was granted him, for a few miles from the place in which he lived, he met with some serious people, "whom," he says, "the Lord was gathering from the dark world, to sit down together and wait upon his name." To these he joined himself, and they became objects of reproach in the country where they lived—"counting it," as he observes, "greater riches to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season."

He was now only fifteen years of age.—After writing these words, my pen was arrested in its progress, while I contemplated this extraordinary instance of the operation of divine grace in so early a period of life. But all things are possible to him with whom we have to do; and truly He may still be thus addressed: "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength."

About this time, which was the year 1653, he found his mind drawn to visit some Friends in

the North of England, "with whom," he says, "I had union in Spirit before I saw their faces." It was in this journey that he visited George Fox in Carlisle jail. George's account of him is: "J. Parnel, a little lad, about sixteen years of age, came to see me, and was convinced. The Lord quickly made him a powerful Minister of the Word of Life, and many were turned to Christ by him." By this it appears that the people to whom he had joined himself near Retford, were not of the people called Quakers, but probably Seekers, many of whom became united to Friends.

In the year 1655, he was concerned to visit a serious people about fifteen miles south from Retford, and when there, his mind was drawn to proceed to Cambridge, where he published two papers, one against corrupt ministers, and the other against corrupt magistrates, for which he was committed to prison. He was confined here during two sessions, and afterwards sent out of the town with a pass as a rogue and vagabond; but a justice of the peace who was sensible of his innocence, followed him and took the pass back to Cambridge. Not long after James returned there, and engaged in a dispute with the Baptists of that place, which appears to have been productive of little benefit. In departing

from this public dispute, he received very rude treatment from the scholars of the University, from whom he escaped with much difficulty.

He continued in Cambridgeshire about half a year, and then went into Essex. In both counties he met with much opposition, but many were convinced by his ministry. Among the rest was Stephen Crisp of Colchester, who was afterwards a very useful member and able minister in the Society. In this town James spent about ten days at this time, preaching in one day first at his own lodgings, next, after the service in one of the public places of worship, and afterwards in a large meeting appointed for him. After all this he disputed publicly with two priests in the French School. Many thousands of people were this day partakers of his gospel labours, "in all which," according to Stephen Crisp, "the wisdom, power, and patience of Christ appeared very gloriously; to the convincing," adds Stephen, "myself and many more, who were witnesses of that day's work." Stephen Crisp's account of his services in Colchester is so descriptive and impressive, that I cannot well forbear continuing his narrative: "He spent that week in preaching, praying, exhorting, and admonishing, turning the minds of all sorts of professors to the light of Jesus, which did search

their hearts and show their thoughts, that they might believe therein, and so might become children of the light. Many did believe, and found it so. Others were hardened and rebelled against the appearance of truth, and became enemies, with whom he disputed daily in great soundness, and in the evidence and demonstration of the Spirit; by which also many were reached and convinced of the truth, and the mouths of gainsayers stopped. This made many gnash their teeth on him, and some undertook to club out the priest's and professor's arguments, by beating this dear lamb with fists and staves, who took all patiently, particularly one who struck him with a great staff as he came out of one of the steeple houses and said: 'There, take that for Jesus Christ's sake;' to which he returned this answer: 'Friend, I do receive it for Jesus Christ's sake.' Many other intolerable affronts were offered him, in all which his spirit was not seen to be raised in heat or anger, but was a pattern of patience and meekness."

From Colchester he went to Coggeshall, where he had been before. A fast was appointed by the Independents, who were now the ruling party in Church and State. The object of it was to pray against the spreading of error; by which it ap-

pears they meant the doctrines of the Quakers. But they were not content with praying; a sermon must also be preached, in which that people were bitterly inveighed against, and much misrepresented. This roused the zeal of James Parnel, who was present; and when the priest had finished, he commenced a reply to the reflections which had been cast upon his friends, with observing: "This is the order of the true church, that all may speak one by one; and if any thing be revealed to him that stands by, let the first hold his peace." As he proceeded in his discourse he was interrupted, and some dispute ensued, after which he left the place; but he was followed by a justice of the peace, who arrested him in the name of the Protector, and committed him to Colchester castle. Here he was closely confined, and the jailers forbidden to permit his friends to visit him.

In the course of a few weeks he was removed to Chelmsford, to take his trial at the assizes there. He and five criminals were chained together, and in this degrading manner was this innocent youth led through the country above twenty miles. When he arrived at Chelmsford, the prisoners were not immediately separated, but continued chained together night and day for some time.

When the assizes came on, he was brought into court handcuffed; but the people expressing their dissatisfaction with this act of cruelty, he was remanded to prison, and at his second appearance his manacles were taken off. When he was on his trial, the indictment was read, the substance of which was, that in a riotous manner he entered the parish church of Great Coggeshall; that he stood up there, and told the minister he blasphemed and spoke falsely; and that he could not give a good account where he was last settled, or of his life and conversation, appearing to be an idle person. To this he pleaded not guilty. A priest and two justices appeared in evidence against him, who it seems were not very correct in their evidence, and when James endeavoured to speak to the jury in his own defence, the judge would not permit him, and in other respects acted very improperly, suffering his accusers to stand on the bench, whispering to him, and incensing his mind against the prisoner.

The judge also endeavoured to influence the jury in a very partial manner. However, when the jury gave in their verdict, they found him guilty of only publishing a paper which he had written in answer to his mittimus, and signed with his name; but of that part of the indictment, which only was

punishable by law, the riotous entrance into the parish church (so called) of Coggeshall, they acquitted him. He was indeed so far from entering the place riotously, that he went quite alone, having declined accepting the company of a friend who offered to go with him, and sending some children into the place before him, whom he found assembled about the door. In the dispute which arose, on James Parnel's defending the principles of his Friends, he mentioned "the church in God." This expression the priest said was nonsense. James proved it to be scripture language, and charged the priest with blasphemy in calling it nonsense. This part of the indictment was therefore acknowledged, as well as the paper already mentioned, and he defended himself by saying, that he did not think it indecent to call an unjust judge, unrighteous; a persecutor, a persecutor; or a deceiver, a deceiver.

The verdict of the jury was not satisfactory to the judge, who wished to have better authority for that severity which he was disposed to exercise on the present occasion, he therefore endeavoured to draw something more from the foreman, in which he succeeded; but the rest of the jury did not assent to it. The judge, however, with that violent and arbitrary spirit which particularly characterized the times, proceeded to give judgment against the

prisoner, by amercing him in two fines, amounting together to about forty pounds : one was imposed for his contempt of the magistracy, and the other for that of the ministry ; for the judge said that the Lord Protector had charged him to punish such persons as should contemn either magistracy or ministry.

James Parnel not paying the fines imposed, which he would have considered a confession of guilt, he was taken back to Colchester jail. This was in an old castle, supposed to have been built by the Romans. The jailer received orders from the judge not to permit any giddy-headed people, (meaning his Friends,) to visit the prisoner. This charge was executed with as much severity as the judge could desire ; for both the jailer and his wife appear to have been of a cruel disposition. The latter set her man to beat her innocent prisoner, and sometimes even exercised this cruelty herself, swearing that she would have his blood. His victuals were frequently taken from him, and he was not permitted to have a bed, which his friends would have sent him, to sleep on ; the consequence of which was, that he was obliged to lie on the stones, in a cold damp place, on the ground floor.

After sometime of confinement here, he was put into a hole in the wall of the castle, not so large

as some bakers ovens. His ascent to this was by a ladder which was about six feet short of the hole he had to enter, and a rope was fixed to remedy this inconvenience. By this ladder and rope he had to ascend and descend on all occasions, nor would his cruel keepers permit him to have a cord and basket, with which to draw up his victuals, though his friends would have provided them for him.

Winter was now approaching, which increased the hardship of his situation. The hole in which he was confined was damp, and not capable of being warmed by fire; the consequence was that his limbs became deprived of their natural agility, so that it was with difficulty he could climb into his hole with such inconvenient means of access. One day after he had ascended the ladder, and was catching at the rope, he missed his aim and fell down to the ground on the stones. When first found he was supposed to be dead; but this did not prove to be the case. He was, however, much bruised and wounded with his fall. After this he was put into a hole under the other, there being two stories of these vaulted holes in the walls of the castle. This hole was called the oven, and smaller than that in which he was first confined. Here he recovered in some degree from the effects of his fall, and being desirous of taking the air in

the castle yard, his cruel keepers would not permit him. He was therefore obliged to confine himself to this small apartment, to which there was no access for light or air, but by the door. In this situation his health necessarily suffered, so that his life was despaired of, if he continued in his present confinement. Two of his friends, William Talcot and Edward Grant, therefore offered to be bound in the sum of forty pounds, provided he might be permitted to come to one of their houses till his recovery; and another friend, Thomas Shortland, offered to lie in prison for him. His persecutors were, however, unrelenting; and so wicked was the jailer, that once, when the door of his hole was open, and he had taken the opportunity of going out and walking in a narrow yard between two high walls, the jailer locked the door of his hole, and obliged him to remain in the open air all night, in the coldest part of winter.

These sufferings were too great for nature to support; and after ten or eleven months confinement at Colchester, his youthful constitution sunk under them. In his last illness, his mind was preserved calm and resigned. To two friends who were with him at the time of his decease, he said: "Here I die innocently." And again: "This death I must die: I have seen great things.

Do not hold me, but let me go." His last words were, "Now I go." After which he fell asleep, and in about an hour quietly expired.

Thus terminated the life of this pious and zealous young man. Great indeed was his zeal against the hypocritical and persecuting spirit of the high professors of those days. That his ardour might sometimes lead him to use expressions rather violent and irritating, I am induced to believe from the perusal of some of his writings ; * but such seems to have been, at that time, the general mode of opposing what was considered error ; and his youth will be an apology for some excess of zeal. Nothing which he said or did, could however justify, either legally or equitably, the violent treatment which he received from his enemies and persecutors. His sufferings, it ap-

* That I may not be thought to make this observation lightly, I give the following extract :—" Here follows the copy of a Note which was written against the Idol's Temple, which was judged a contempt of the Ministry. ' This is the Idol's Temple where the Worship of the Beast is upheld. Down with it ; Down with it ;' of the Minister he says : " This is a deceiver, who stands up here every first day of the week to deceive the people ; he is proud and covetous, and speaketh a Divination of his own brain," &c. It might seem by the first quotation, that his design was to instigate the people to demolish the building ; but no part of his conduct evinced such a disposition ; nor do I find that his enemies put this construction upon his words.

pears from various accounts, he bore with great meekness and patience; and these, together with his gospel labours, were greatly blessed, to the conviction and conversion of many who were witnesses of them.

He was of small stature, and his appearance altogether seems to have been diminutive, which frequently excited the contempt of his opponents, who designated him by the name of, "the Quaking Boy." But however his enemies might say, that "his bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible," yet it appears from various accounts of him, that he was a powerful and effectual Minister of the Gospel; and at the same time a good example to those among whom he laboured; his conduct being adorned with gravity and humility, whilst he was blameless in conversation and unspotted from the world.

His writings were collected after his death, and published in the year 1675, in a quarto volume. To this collection are prefixed Testimonies concerning him from several Friends who were convinced by him; with an extract from one of which* I shall conclude this account. "He was a true Minister and Messenger sent of God, who brought tidings of the way of life and salvation to me and

* Samuel Cater, of Fenstanton, or Littleport.

many more in these parts of the nation. And this I can say also; as the Lord was pleased to call him into his blessed work, so he furnished him with virtues suitable for the same, according to the work of the day in which he brought him forth, and did mightily appear for him and with him, in giving him courage, and wisdom, and power, whereby he was prepared and fitted for every service and exercise, that the Lord called him unto; which service he faithfully performed, of a ready mind and with a willing heart." This testimony the Friend concludes with these words: "Surely, the mighty power and wisdom of the Lord was with him of a truth!"

Having given a specimen of the zeal which he manifested against those things and persons which he considered contrary to the truth, I shall scarcely do justice to his character, without giving another specimen of his writing, by quoting an Epistle which he entitled, "A few Words to all my dear Friends in and about the County of Essex." See page 291 of his Works.

"And all you my dear friends, you scattered and despised ones in and about the county of Essex, whom the Lord by his powerful word is now gathering out of darkness into his marvellous light; out of the kingdom of this world, into the

kingdom of his dear Son; whom he is separating unto himself, to walk before him in holiness, that you might know him and he might know you in the light of his countenance, whose faces he hath turned towards Sion, to seek after a land of rest unto your weary souls, which have been tossed to and fro, from mountain to hill, in this cloudy and dark day, seeking rest but finding none; but now is the day of beauty broken forth nigh you, even in you, yea and glad tidings is come unto your wearied souls, by which a pure love is begotten in you to the everlasting truth, which hath been freely declared amongst you by the messengers of the Most High, who have reached the witness for God in your consciences, which doth seal the same upon your hearts; which your teacher is, and unto it you hearken and are obedient; in which light all stand still and behold the work which the Lord hath begun amongst you, and you shall have no cause of discouragement. Though the sea doth rise and the raging waves do swell, as if they would swallow all up, yet it is limited by the unlimited, and it shall but foam out its own shame.

“ And as I had a time to preach the truth among you, to the conviction of many, so also now I have a time to seal the same with patient suffering in the bonds of the gospel, that you may see *that*

it is no other but what we are made able and willing to seal with patient suffering; yea with our blood if we be called to it, as many of us have done, in this nation, though it be called a land of liberty; but it is for iniquity, but truth and equity are strangers in it, and therefore are persecuted. But you that are found worthy to receive these strangers, happy are you; and though the raging Sodomites compass you about, for to cause you to cast out these strangers, that they may work their wills upon them, yet be faithful and fear them not, but cast out your darlings before them, and stand in the faith of the God of truth and equity, and you shall see the Sodomites struck with blindness that they shall not be able to prevail against you; but when they are weary with striving, they shall be made to sit down in sorrow, and so shall it be fulfilled which of old was prophesied; that no weapon formed against the faithful shall prosper; but woe unto them that lift up their heel against them.

“Therefore I charge you all in the name of the God of Truth. *Be faithful, valiant, and bold for the truth received; and as you have received it, so walk in it that you may profess no more in word but what in life you seal, that the life may be preached forth in your lives, and shine forth in your conversations, to the glory of the Father of Lights, and the confounding of the heathen, who*

profess God in words, but in life deny him; *and be willing that self shall suffer for the truth, and not the truth for self*, (for the truth was ever sealed with persecution, since Cain's generation had a being upon the earth,) *and so own the cross and despise the shame, and give up yourselves to suffer for the truth received, all you that would follow the Lamb to the land of rest, and through many trials you will wax strong and bold, and confident in your God; for God is not known what a God he is, until the time of trial.*

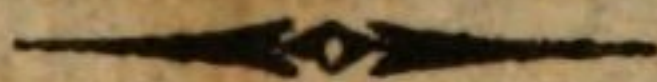
“ And all keep your meetings in the name and fear of the Lord God, waiting for his power in the obedience to his light, which in your consciences doth reprove you when you do amiss, that in it you may wait and watch over the foes that are of your own house, that you may know the warfare begun in your hearts against your spiritual enemies; and so the God of power manifest himself amongst you, by his mighty power bringing down all that in you which opposes him, and would not that he should reign over it and exalt his own seed in your hearts, and establish you in righteousness, that his image you may bear; and he shall be your God, and you shall be his people.

“ And so, in the unchangeable truth, I rest in unity with all the faithful, in the glorious liberty

of the sons of God, though in outward bonds for your sakes.

“ Known to all that can read me in spirit.

“ JAMES PARNEL.”



A FEW LINES

Written after visiting the dungeon at Carlisle, in which James Parnel was convinced by George Fox; and on subsequently reading the account of his confinement and death in the prison at Colchester.

When Heav'n attracts me from my poor estate,
Where chain'd to earth my dull affections wait;
Where love and zeal, at best, but feebly draw,
My tardy steps to duty's holy law,
Thee! righteous Parnel! I with tears behold,
In age a stripling, but in service old:
I stand reprov'd by thee, thou youth divine,
A backward child with days that double thine;

On thy fair mind, the boundless power of truth
Rose strong and ardent, in thy tender youth;
And led thee forward, fearless, without guile,
To wake the sinful of this darken'd isle:
Many there were, in those laborious days,
Who heard thy word, and gave thy Master praise;
But wrathful, fierce, the arm of power arose,
And struck the servant labouring in his cause.

CHAPTER II.

LIFE OF JOHN CAMM.

THIS Friend was one of those who attended that remarkable Meeting held at Firbank Chapel, in Westmorland, by George Fox, when great numbers were convinced of our principles, and many of them afterwards became eminent ministers and labourers in the gospel of Christ.

JOHN CAMM was born at Camsgill, in the Barony of Kendal. His family, it appears, had given name to the place, which had been in their possession for several generations.* He received a good education, and was from his childhood religiously inclined. As he advanced in years, he joined himself in society to such as were most

* The word "gill" sometimes signifies a beck or rivulet and in this instance it seems to have been so applied, in consequence of a small stream running through the estate.

strict in the observance of religious duties, and most exemplary in their conduct. He and several others had separated themselves from the national way of worship, and met together for religious improvement, and the performance of divine worship. They had not, however, found what their souls were satisfied with, but were prepared to receive further manifestations of the way of life and salvation. George Fox was the means of opening this to them; and the subject of the present Memoir appears to have received the testimony which was borne by that able minister, with greater readiness than some others, who did not accept it till after close examination and much debate.

Being a man of considerable property and good abilities, he was rising in the world, which, according to the account given by his son, "seemed to smile upon him, and the riches and glory of it had exceedingly increased, and were then likely to increase more." Yet all these things became light in his estimation, when placed in competition with obtaining an inheritance incorruptible, and that fadeth not away; and he readily resigned all for Christ's sake, being willing to follow him through much contempt and many tribulations.

After undergoing much secret exercise of mind, he became prepared for the public service of the

ministry, in which capacity he travelled in the Northern Counties of England, as far as the borders of Scotland. After his return from this journey, he was engaged to visit some of the Southern parts of the nation, in which he was accompanied by Francis Howgill; and it appears that these two Friends were the first who preached and published the doctrines of our Society in London; but the principal object of this journey was, "to declare the message of the Lord to Oliver Cromwell, then called Protector."

They not only paid him a personal visit, but John Camm also wrote to him. The Epistle begins thus: "On the last day of the first month called March,* about two o'clock in the morning, I was moved of the Lord to write these ensuing lines, and to lay before thee the cause of our coming hither to London. Friend, we came not to thee to petition any thing from thee in the outward, but in the tender bowels of love to exhort thee to mind thy own condition, how thou standest in relation to the Lord God of heaven and earth, who is powerful, and pure, and holy; who will not acquit the wicked, but will wound the hairy scalp of him who goes on in iniquity; before

* The year is not mentioned, but I suppose it to be 1654, and that he left home in 1653.

whose presence all stand naked and bare; who knows and sees all the secrets of thy heart; thy outgoings and incomings; to whom thou must give account of all things done in the body, whether they be good or evil. Therefore, in love to thy soul, were we moved to come to exhort thee to stand in the fear of the Lord and in his counsel, and to mind the light in thy conscience, which is pure and of God to guide thee in the great affairs of the nations."

Part of the object of this Epistle appears to have been to caution the Protector against countenancing any oppression or suffering for religion. In their personal visit they had intimated to him how he might be made instrumental in establishing the gospel, which it seems the Protector supposed they meant to be done by law. This mistake is therefore rectified, in a manner which deserves transcribing, for the justness of the sentiment which it contains: "Thou apprehendedst us that this should be established by an outward law. That was not our desire, we spoke no such thing; but we witness the coming of Christ in his kingdom is not by might, nor power, nor pomp, nor glory from without, nor by any law which is in the will of man; but our desires were that there should be no law upon religion, for it needs no law to defend it." This Epistle concludes thus:

“Take heed; for he that is in high places is subject to many temptations.”

Soon after John Camm's return from this journey, he again travelled Southward, accompanied, at setting out, by four of his neighbours, viz. John Audland, Francis Howgill, Edward Burrough, and Richard Hubberthorn. He and Edward Burrough went through the Midland Counties to London, where the others, who had taken a different course, met them. Several other labourers in the same cause, were at this time in the Metropolis, and great success attended their united endeavours. After some time, John Camm and John Audland found their minds drawn towards Bristol, where “a great door and effectual” was opened unto them, and many hundreds were, through their instrumentality, turned to God and Christ, and to the inward manifestations of the Holy Spirit in their hearts.

Among the fruits of their ministry, were Josiah Cole, George Bishop, Charles Marshall, and Barbara Blaugdon. But whilst many of the people received them gladly, the priests were much disturbed with the success of their ministry, and incited first a mob, and afterwards the magistrates, against them. The former was indeed very tumultuous, endangering the lives of these two

friends; and the latter issued a warrant for their apprehension; but they had left the city, and therefore it had no effect. It appears most probable that they returned home soon after leaving Bristol, as I find them at Hereford on the 25th of the 7th month, 1654, and Joseph Besse states their being at Bristol in that month.

I do not meet with any account of John Camm from this time until the year 1656, except that from the date of a letter to Friends in Bristol, it appears he was at home, at Preston Patrick, in Westmorland, the 20th of the 2d month, 1655. In the year 1656, he and John Audland again visited Bristol; and after their return from this journey, it is likely that great and increasing infirmities confined John Camm to his home and its neighbourhood. He was of a weak constitution and consumptive habit, and the exercise which he had undergone, in the large meetings at Bristol and other places, many of which were in the open air, had no doubt increased his weakness. He had, indeed, always travelled with great infirmities, frequently taking his son Thomas in company, to wait upon him; but his bodily disorders now rapidly increased, under which his mind was, however, preserved in much patience and resignation.

During the time of his illness he frequently called his family together, giving them much religious advice, and often praying for them. His mind was not only resigned to his situation, but he had also learned the apostolic lesson: "In every thing give thanks," as appears from the following expressions which he uttered: "How great a benefit do I enjoy beyond many, having such a large time of preparation for death; being dying daily, that I may live for ever with my God, in that kingdom that is unspeakably full of glory. My outward man daily wastes and moulders down, and draws towards its place and centre; but my inward man revives and mounts upward towards its place and habitation in the heavens."

On the day of his decease, he called his wife and family together, and after giving them much advice, he fainted, and to appearance passed quietly away in a sweet sleep. This occasioned such a sorrow and weeping, that the noise awoke him; and, desiring to be raised in his bed, he addressed his family to this import: "My dear hearts, you have wronged me and disturbed me, for I was at sweet rest. You should not so passionately sorrow for my departure. This house of earth and clay must go to its place; but this soul and spirit is to be gathered up to the Lord, to

live with him for ever, and where we shall meet with everlasting joy."

After these expressions, he again took leave of them, and quietly expired in the 11th month, 1656, in the 52d year of his age.

CHAPTER III.

LIFE OF WILLIAM ROBINSON.

I AM now brought, in the course of my work, to notice several Friends who suffered death for their religious opinions, in New England, by the Episcopalians; and in order to give the reader an idea of the circumstances under which they suffered, it may be proper to prefix some information, extracted from Joseph Besse's Account of Friends' Sufferings. "In that province," he observes, "were sitting at the helm of government, a set of men, making high pretensions to religion, and such as had loudly cried against the tyranny and oppression of the bishops in Old England, from whom they had fled; professing themselves, 'pious and peaceable Protestants, driven by severity to leave their native country, and seek a refuge for their lives and liberties, with freedom for the worship of God, in a wilderness, in the

ends of the earth.' Yet when invested with power, we find them exercising a cruel dominion over the faith and consciences of others; in which they appear to us not so inconsistent with themselves as some have thought: because, when, under oppression, they pleaded for liberty of conscience, they understood it not as the natural and common right of all mankind, but as a peculiar privilege of the orthodox. They had long before any of the Quakers came thither, viz. in the year 1646, made a law or order for uniformity in religion, by imposing a penalty of five shillings per week, on such as came not to hear the established ministers. Thus they early began to intrench themselves against any further discoveries of truth and religion, by a penal law; and as to the Quakers, they had received an unreasonable prejudice against them, as appears by their rigid treatment of the first of them who came into that country." Vol. 2, p. 177.

The preceding passage shows the persecuting disposition of these emigrants, who themselves fled from persecution. Finding that the people called Quakers were likely to visit them either in their commercial or religious concerns, they made severe laws against them, punishing those who came among them, with cutting off first one ear, then in case of repetition, the other, and for a third offence boring the tongue with a hot iron.

And when they found these punishments insufficient, with several cruel additions, they at length made a law for inflicting the punishment of death on all those who had been banished from them. This punishment was actually executed on three men and one woman, who came in gospel love to visit them, and to warn them of the evil of their ways; particularly in indulging a spirit of persecution, contrary to the precepts of Christ Jesus, our common Lord and Saviour.

William Robinson, the first of these sufferers, was a merchant in the city of London, of whom I find very little account; but it appears that he left his own home to pay a religious visit to the new settlers in America, about the year 1659.

In the course of his journey, he came to Rhode Island; and when travelling there, he found his mind drawn to go to Boston in New England, where, as is already noticed, a law had been made to banish all Quakers, not inhabitants, from the jurisdiction of that place, and making non-compliance, or returning after complying, punishable with death. Marmaduke Stevenson had accompanied William Robinson to Boston, and Mary Dyer was already there, also one Nicholas Davis. These four were summoned before the Court of Assistants, from whom they received sentence of

banishment. This however was not thought to be sufficient punishment for William Robinson, who being considered a teacher, and a principal, was also sentenced to be whipped. The sentence was executed upon him, by putting his hands through the holes of a great gun, to which the jailer held him fast, while the executioner inflicted upon him twenty stripes with a threefold corded whip.

Robinson and Stevenson left the town of Boston; but not finding their minds clear of that religious service which induced them to come there, they remained within its jurisdiction, and visited their Friends in and about Salem. It was not long, however, before they were again taken up and imprisoned; as was also Mary Dyer, who, though she had left the State, found her mind drawn to return there, to testify against their unrighteous laws. After some time of confinement, they were brought into court, where John Endicot, the governor, presided; and who, without any prefatory proceedings, immediately passed sentence of death upon them, in these words: "We have made many laws, and endeavoured by several ways to keep you from us; and neither whippings, nor imprisoning, nor cutting off ears, nor banishing upon pain of death, would keep you from amongst us. I desire not your deaths. Give ear and hearken

to your sentence." Here William Robinson interrupted him, and desired liberty to read a paper, showing the reason why he had not departed from that jurisdiction. This reasonable request, however, was refused, and the sentence was proceeded with in these words: "You shall be had back to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, to be hanged on the gallows till you are dead."

The sentence was then passed on the other two Friends, who seeing it was in vain to attempt to speak, did not offer to make any defence, though Endicot pretended to give liberty to Stevenson, who, after sentence was passed, warned them of the judgments which would come upon them, if they put their wicked sentence in execution, and thus made themselves guilty of shedding innocent blood.

These transactions took place on the 20th of October, 1659, and the execution of those virtuous and pious sufferers, was fixed for the 27th of the same. On the afternoon, the prisoners were taken to the place of execution, guarded by about two hundred armed men. In the procession, drummers were placed immediately before the condemned persons, and when any of them attempted to speak, the drums were beaten to prevent their being heard. Thus did these high pro-

fessors of religion, and pretended lovers of liberty, manifest their want of the most essential qualities of both, in their conduct on this occasion.

During the procession, William Robinson said, "This is your hour, and the power of darkness:" but the drums beating immediately, he did not proceed. When they came to the gallows, John Wilson, a priest, of Boston, attended them. It might be supposed that on this occasion, if he could not afford them any religious consolation, he would at least have administered some exhortation, tending to prepare them for the awful circumstance about to take place; but instead of this, he insulted them with this low language: "Shall such jacks as you come in before authority with your hats on?" This occasioned William Robinson to say to the people: "Mind you, mind you; it is for not putting off the hat we are put to death." When he was on the ladder, he thus addressed the people: "We suffer, not as evil doers, but as those who have testified and manifested the truth. This is the day of your visitation, and therefore I desire you to mind the Light of Christ, which is in you, to which I have borne testimony, and am now going to seal my testimony with my blood."

The unfeeling priest here interrupted him, with saying: "Hold thy tongue, be silent; thou art

going to die with a lie in thy mouth." After this, the rope was put about William Robinson's neck, when he said, "Now ye are made manifest;" and being about to be turned off, he thus expressed himself: "I suffer for Christ, in whom I live, and for whom I die." After this, Marmaduke Stevenson was executed, and Mary Dyer was reprieved.

But the malice of these wicked religionists, was not fully satisfied with taking away the lives of these innocent sufferers; the dead bodies must also partake of their ill-founded revenge. When they had hung the usual time, they were cut down without any one holding them, and William Robinson's skull was fractured by the fall. The bodies were afterwards stripped naked, and then rolled into a hole, in which they were left uncovered; and when some of their friends would have provided coffins, and given them a decent burial, they were not permitted, nor even suffered to inclose the place with pales, for want of which the wild beasts might have devoured the dead, had not the pit been quickly filled with water. To complete this infamous business, the priest already mentioned gave vent to his unchristian disposition still further, by composing a *Song* on these martyrs for the support of a good conscience, and their faithful testimony against this hypocritical and blood-thirsty people.

Four days before his martyrdom, William Robinson wrote a short epistle which he directed "To the Lord's People."—It manifests so fully the heavenly state of his mind, his love to his friends, and his complete resignation to the sufferings permitted to befall him, that I cannot close this account better than by giving it to the reader. It is as follows:—

"The streams of my Father's love run daily through me, from the *Holy Fountain of Life*, to the seed throughout the whole creation. I am overcome with love, for it is my life and length of my days; it is my glory and my daily strength. I am swallowed up with love; in love I live, and with it I am overcome; and in it I dwell with the Holy Seed, to which the blessing of love is given from God, who is love; who hath shed it abroad in my heart, which daily fills me with living joy from the life from whence it comes.

"Ye children of the living God! feel me when you are waiting in it; when your hearts and minds are gathered into it; when, in the strength of it you are travailing; feel me when it runs from the fountain into your vessel; when it issues gently like new wine into your bosoms; when the strength and power of it you feel: when you are overcome with strength of love, which is God, then feel

me present in the fountain of love, wherein are many mansions. You children of the Lord! feel me wrapt up with you in the pure love, which destroys the love which is in enmity with God, which warreth against the seed that proceedeth from the Father of Love, the God of Truth. Let nothing separate you from this love, which is my life; neither words nor thoughts, nor any thing else, enter betwixt, which is contrary to it, for it will stain the place of its abode. So *dear children*, who are begotten by love into the covenant of life and love, keep daily in it. This is the portion that God hath given to his children to continue in his love, which is the life of the seed, which is raised by the power of the endless love of God in the creature.

“I am full of the quickening power of the Lord Jesus Christ, and my lamp is filled with pure oil, so that it gives a clear light and pleasant smell; and I shall enter with my beloved into eternal rest and peace, wherein I am swallowed up; with the life of it I am filled; and in it I shall depart with everlasting joy in my heart, and praises in my mouth, singing hallelujah unto the Lord, who hath redeemed me by his living power from amongst kindreds, tongues, and nations. And now the day of my departure draweth near, *I have fought a good fight; I have kept the holy faith; I have near*

finished my course; my travailing is near at an end; my testimony is near to be finished, and an eternal crown is laid up for me, and all whose feet are shod with righteousness and the preparation of peace, even such whose names are written in the book of life, wherein I live and rejoice with all the faithful seed for evermore.

“Written by a servant of Jesus Christ.

“WILLIAM ROBINSON.”

CHAPTER IV.

LIFE OF MARMADUKE STEVENSON.



THIS fellow-sufferer with William Robinson, lived at Shipton, near Market-Weighton, in Yorkshire. The earliest account I find of him, is contained in a paper which he published at Boston after sentence of death had been pronounced upon him. It begins thus: "In the beginning of the year 1655, I was at plough in the east part of Yorkshire, in Old England, near the place where my outward being was; and as I walked after the plough, I was filled with the love and presence of the living God, which did ravish my heart when I felt it, for it did increase and abound in me like a living stream: [yea] so did the life and love of God run through me, like precious ointment giving a pleasant smell, which made me to stand still. And as I stood a little still, with my heart and mind stayed upon the Lord, the word of the Lord

came to me in a still small voice, which I did hear perfectly, saying to me, in the secret of my heart and conscience: "I have ordained thee a prophet unto the nations;" and at the hearing of the word of the Lord I was put to a stand, seeing that I was but a child, for such a weighty matter. So at the time appointed, Barbadoes was set before me, unto which I was required of the Lord to go, and leave my dear and loving wife and tender children; for the Lord said unto me, immediately by his Spirit, that he would be as an husband to my wife, and as a father to my children, and they should not want in my absence, for he would provide for them when I was gone."

Notwithstanding these prospects, he remained under the exercise about three years, not sailing for Barbadoes till the fourth month, 1658. While he was on this island, he was informed of the law made in New England, for putting Friends to death who returned after banishment. On hearing of this law, his mind felt a secret attraction that way; and after he had finished his services in Barbadoes, he sailed for Rhode Island, where he visited his Friends in the love of the gospel. Here, as he relates it, "the word of the Lord came to me, saying, Go to Boston with thy brother William Robinson." With this intimation of duty he complied; the result of which being already

related in the account of William Robinson, it would be superfluous to repeat it. After his companion had suffered, Marmaduke Stevenson stepped up the ladder, and expressed himself thus to the surrounding multitude: "Be it known unto all, this day, that we suffer, not as evil doers, but for conscience sake." And when he was about to be turned off, he said: "This day shall I be at rest with the Lord."

During his confinement, he not only wrote the paper, from which an extract is already made, but also a long Address to the Inhabitants of Shipton, Weighton, and elsewhere, which is entitled, "A Call from Death to Life, and out of the dark Ways and Worships of the World, where the Seed is held in Bondage under the Merchants of Babylon." He, as well as his fellow-sufferer, wrote a letter directed "To the Lord's People;" which showing the state of his mind when the prospect of death, by the hand of an executioner was before him, it may be proper to insert a part of it here; viz.

"Oh! my dear and well beloved ones, who are sealed with me in the holy covenant of our Father's love, my love and life runs out to you all who are chosen of God and faithful; for you are dear unto me, the Lord knows it, and are as seals upon my breast. You *lambs* of my Father's fold, and

sheep of his pasture, the remembrance of you is precious to me, my dearly beloved ones, who are of the holy seed, and bear the right image, which springs from the true vine and offspring of David, and stock of Abraham, the father of the faithful, and the redeemed ones, who are reconciled to God and one to another, in that which sea and land cannot separate; where you may feel me knit and joined to you, in the spirit of truth, and linked to you as members of his body; who is our head and rock of sure defence, for us to fly unto; where we are kept safe in the hour of temptation; and in the day of trial shall we be preserved in the hollow of his hand; where his banner of love will be over us, to compass us about; where we shall have recourse to the living springs, which come from the pure fountain and well-spring of life, which issues forth abundantly to refresh the hungry and strengthen the feeble minded; where you may feel me, my beloved ones, in the green pastures, among the lilies of the pleasant springs, where our souls are bathed and refreshed together, with the overcomings of God's love, and the virtue of his presence, which is as *precious ointment poured forth, giving a pleasant smell.*

“ So my *dear Friends!* let us always wait at the altar of the Lord, to see the table spread; that so we may sit down and eat together, and be re-

freshed with the *hidden manna*, and living food of life, that comes from Him who is our life, our peace, our strength, and our Preserver night and day. O! my beloved ones! let us all go on in his strength, who is our Prince and Saviour, that his image we may bear, who is meek and lowly in heart, and mind the true and sure foundation of many generations, the chief *Corner Stone, elect and precious*; the *Rock of Ages* on which the Saints were built; and if we all abide thereon, we shall never be moved, but stand for ever as trees of righteousness, rooted and grounded in Him, who will be with us in all our trials and temptations which we may meet withall; and here will the Lord our God be honoured by us all that are faithful unto death: we shall assuredly have a crown of life which will never be taken from us.

“ Oh! my *beloved ones*, what shall I say unto you, who drink with me at the living fountain, where we are nourished and brought up as twins, at the *breasts of consolation*; where I do embrace you in the bond of peace which never will be broken. O! feel me and read me in your hearts; for I am filled with love when I think upon you, and broken into tears; for the remembrance of you doth refresh my soul, which makes me often to think upon you, and have you in remembrance, you *jewels* of my Father, and *first fruits* of his increase.

If I forget you, then let the Lord forget me. Nay, verily, you cannot be forgotten by me: so long as I abide in the vine, I am a branch of the same nature with you, which springs from the same nature which the Lord hath blessed, where we do grow together in his life and image, as members of his body; where we shall live together to all eternity, and sit down in the kingdom of rest and peace, with *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, to sing the songs of deliverance to the Most High that sits on the throne, who alone is worthy of all honour and living praise, to whom it is due now and for ever. AMEN."

CHAPTER V.

LIFE OF MARY DYER.

CONCERNING Mary Dyer, whose reprieve has been already noticed, I find but little account except what relates to her sufferings at Boston.

She was a married woman, and lived in Rhode Island, where she bore an excellent character. She was the mother of several children, and her husband was a man of reputation and respectability; but not of the same religious persuasion. After her companions had received the judgment of the court, sentence of death was also passed on her, to which she replied: "The will of the Lord be done." Endicot then ordered the marshal to take her away to the prison, when she said: "Yea, joyfully I go;" and in her way there, she was engaged in uttering praises to God. She was indeed full of joy in the Holy Spirit, and told the marshal that he might let her alone, for she would go to prison without him; to which he replied:

“ I believe you, Mrs. Dyer; but I must do what I am commanded.” Whilst in prison, she wrote to the General Court in Boston, remonstrating closely with them on the subject of their bloody laws.

After her fellow-prisoners, William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, had suffered, she stepped up the ladder, expecting immediately to undergo the same punishment. Her clothes were tied about her feet, the halter put about her neck, and her face covered with a handkerchief, with which Priest Wilson supplied the hangman. But after all this preparation was made, a cry was heard: “ Stop, for she is reprieved.” This appears to have been no tidings of joy to her, for her mind had entered into so full a resignation to the prospect of death, that she seemed already participating of the joys of that eternity which appeared then before her. When her feet were loosed, and she had liberty given her to come down, she continued where she was, and told those about her, that she was there willing to suffer as her brethren had done, except they would annul their wicked law. She was at length forced away and taken back to her prison. This reprieve was owing to the intercession of her son, to whom it seems the magistrates durst not then deny that favour.

The day after her reprieve, she again addressed the General Court, at Boston. The address shows the fortitude of her mind, and the deep sense which she entertained of the cruel disposition of her persecutors. It begins thus : “ Once more to the General Court assembled in Boston speaks Mary Dyer, even as before. My life is not accepted, neither availeth me, in comparison of the lives and liberty of the truth and servants of the living God, for which in the bowels of love and meekness I sought you ; yet nevertheless with wicked hands have you put two of them to death, which makes me to feel that the mercies of the wicked is cruelty. I rather choose to die than live as from you, as guilty of their innocent blood. Therefore, seeing my request is hindered, I leave you to the righteous Judge and Searcher of all hearts.”

By her reprieve, it was directed that she should continue in prison forty-eight hours ; after which it appears she was put on a horse and conveyed fifteen miles towards Rhode Island, and was then left with a man and horse to be conveyed forward ; but she sent them back, and went home without their assistance. After residing here and on Long Island for several months, she again apprehended it her duty to visit the town of Boston. She accordingly returned there on the 21st of the 3d

month, 1660, and ten days afterwards was summoned before the General Court, where, after a few interrogatories, Endicot passed this sentence upon her: "You must return to the prison, and there remain till to-morrow at nine o'clock; then from thence you must go to the gallows, and there be hanged till you are dead." On this Mary Dyer remarked: "This is no more than what thou saidst before;" to which Endicot replied: "But now it is to be executed, therefore prepare yourself to-morrow at nine o'clock."

She then addressed the Court in these words: "I came in obedience to the will of God the last General Court, desiring you to repeal your unrighteous laws of banishment on pain of death, and the same is my work now and earnest request; although I told you that if you refused to repeal them, the Lord would send others of his servants to witness against them."

After a little more conversation, she was ordered to be taken to prison, and about the time appointed next morning, the marshal came in a hasty, rough manner to take her to the place of execution, to which she was led by a band of soldiers, and with drums beating before and behind, to prevent her being heard if she should say any thing to the people. The gallows were about a mile distant

from the prison. When she came there, and had ascended the ladder, she was told, that if she would return she might come down and save her life, to which she replied: "Nay, I cannot; for in obedience to the will of the Lord I came, and in his will I abide faithful to the death."

She was then charged with being guilty of her own blood; on which she replied: "Nay, I came to keep blood-guiltiness from you, desiring you to repeal the unrighteous and unjust law of banishment upon pain of death, made against the innocent servants of the Lord; therefore my blood will be required at your hands, who wilfully do it; but for those that do it in the simplicity of their hearts, I desire the Lord to forgive them. I came to do the will of my Father, and in obedience to his will, I stand even to death."

Some more conversation passed between her and her persecutors; and when one mentioned her saying, she had been in Paradise, she replied: "Yea, I have been in Paradise several days." It appears that her mind was now in the same situation as on going to the place of execution before, when, in replying to some insulting language, she said: "This is to me an hour of the greatest joy I ever had in this world. No ear can hear; no tongue can utter; and no heart can un-

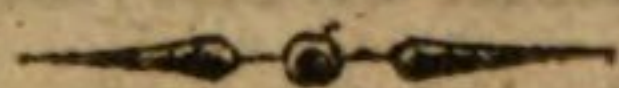
derstand the sweet incomes, and the refreshings of the Spirit of the Lord which I now feel."

Other expressions now dropped from her, descriptive of the happy state of her mind in the prospect of that eternity into which she was about entering. In this state she was turned off, and died a martyr for Christ, and for her testimony against persecution and persecutors. Her conduct on this occasion, with her addresses to the court, evince her to have been a woman of good abilities, great fortitude, and pious resignation to the will of God.

The state of mind in which she twice met the prospect of death, manifests the hope she entertained of a glorious immortality, into which there is abundant reason to believe she happily entered, experiencing the truth of the Apostle's observation, that "these light afflictions which are but for a moment, work for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory."

CHAPTER VI.

LIFE OF WILLIAM LEDDRA.



FOR the sake of connecting the accounts of these New England martyrs, I shall digress a little, and but a little, from chronological order, in my notice of William Leddra. He was an inhabitant of the island of Barbadoes. In the year 1658, he came to New England, and, at Newbury, he and his companion William Brend, were forced out of the town, and conveyed to Salem, where they were examined by the magistrates. After acknowledging themselves to be of the People called Quakers, it was objected to them that they maintained dangerous errors; and when they asked what these errors were, they were told that they denied Christ who suffered on the cross at Jerusalem, and that they denied the Scriptures. This charge they boldly contradicted, asserting that they owned Jesus Christ who suffered death at Jerusalem, and that they also owned the Scriptures. Notwithstanding this declaration, they were ar-

rested, sent to Boston, and committed to the house of correction there, only because they were found to be Quakers.

As they would not work for the benefit of the jailer, he kept them five days without food, though they offered to pay for it. After this privation, he inflicted upon them twenty stripes with a whip. When this severity had been exercised, he told them that if they would pay the marshal for leading them out of the country, they might go; but they, considering it unreasonable to pay for their own banishment, refused, yet offered to go away if the prison doors were opened to them for that purpose. With this the jailer did not think proper to comply, and the next day exercised his cruel disposition on William Brend, in such a shocking manner as produced much discontent and a great clamour in the town.

William Leddra continued for some time in the house of correction at Boston, where he was frequently whipped, but at length was discharged. He was also imprisoned at Plymouth, and ultimately banished from the colony, on pain of death if he should return to it. Where he went after his banishment I do not find; but he did not continue long absent, feeling his mind strongly impressed with an apprehension of duty again to

visit these persecuting people, and those who suffered from them. Returning to Boston, though almost certain of the consequences which would ensue, he was there arrested, sent to jail, fastened to a log of wood, and kept chained night and day, in an open prison, during a very cold winter.

In the first month, 1660-1, he was brought before the Court of Assistants, with the chain and log at his heels. Being placed at the bar, he was informed, that having returned after sentence of banishment, he had incurred the penalty of death by the law. Upon this he asked them what evil he had done? To which the court replied, he had owned those who were put to death, and had said that they were innocent; that he had refused to put off his hat in court, and would say *thee and thou*. He then asked them if they would put him to death for speaking English and for not putting off his clothes. To this Major Dennison answered, A man may speak treason in English. On which William Leddra asked: "Is it treason to say *thee and thou* to a single person?"

I have given this conversation at length, to show the light charges which these persecutors brought against those, on whom they inflicted the punishment of death. The hat had given great offence in some of the former sufferers, and it was even

thrown in the teeth of one of them, at the place of execution. But to what a degree of pride must the minds of these men have attained, who could persecute, as many have done, innocent and virtuous men, because they withheld this mark of respect, and addressed individuals in the singular number; language which they themselves used to their Maker. Surely it was high time that these corrupt and pride-gratifying practices should be checked; and though the testimony against them may be classed among the lesser matters of the law of our God, yet I believe when duly considered, it will be found to be *a duty* which is called for from us as a people.

To return to the subject of this Memoir. After a little more conversation between him and his persecutors, he said: "I appeal to the laws of England for my trial; if by them I am found guilty, I refuse not to die." This appeal, however, was rejected, and the Court attempted to persuade him to a recantation and compliance with their will; but this attempt he rejected with disdain, saying: "What! to join with such murderers as you are! Then let every man that meets me say: "Lo! this is the man that has forsaken the God of his salvation."

The court, finding their prisoner steadfast and immovable, passed sentence of death upon him,

and appointed the 14th of the month for the execution of their sentence. A morning lecture was also appointed on the same day, in which the priest was not backward to animate the magistrates, in the execution of their cruel sentence.

When this shocking preamble to the execution of an unchristian and wicked law was finished, the governor came to the prison with a guard of soldiers; the prisoner's irons were knocked off, and he, after taking a solemn leave of his fellow-prisoners, cheerfully went forth when called. The guard instantly surrounded him, to prevent any of his friends coming near to speak to him; at which one of his friends, Edward Wharton, said to them: "What! will ye show yourselves worse than Bonner's bloody brood? Will you not let me come near my suffering friend before you kill him?" To this one of the company replied: "Oh! Edward! it will be your turn next;" and an officer threatened to stop his mouth, if he spoke another word.

The procession being come to the place of execution, William Leddra took leave of his friend, Edward Wharton, and said to him: "All that will be Christ's disciples must take up his cross." Then standing on the place where the guard directed him, he said to the people: "For

bearing my testimony to the Lord against the deceivers and deceived, am I brought here to suffer." When the executioner was putting the halter about his neck, he meekly said: "I commend my righteous cause unto thee, O God!" and as he was turned off, he cried out: "Lord Jesus! receive my spirit."

Thus did this innocent martyr, patiently suffer under the cruel laws of men, who appeared to be insensible to all the compunctions that either justice or mercy excite in the human heart. The state of his mind under his sufferings, was such as became a christian; and his spiritual enjoyments, previous to his death, evince such a participation of the beatific vision while in the body, as is not often experienced, as will appear from the following extract from a letter, written the day before his death, and addressed,

"To the Society of the little Flock of Christ."

"Grace and peace be multiplied.

"Most dear and inwardly beloved!

"The sweet influences of the morning star, like a flood, distilling into my innocent habitation, have so filled me with the joy of the Lord in the beauty of holiness, that my spirit is as if it did not inhabit a tabernacle of clay, but is wholly swallowed up

in the bosom of eternity, from whence it had its being.

“ Alas! alas! what can the wrath and spirit of man that lusteth to envy, aggravated by the heat and strength of the king of the locusts, which came out of the pit, do unto one that is hid in the seerets of the Almighty, or unto them that are gathered under the healing wings of the Prince of Peace? Under whose armour of light they shall be able to stand in the day of trial; having on the breastplate of righteousness and the sword of the Spirit, which is their weapon of war against spiritual wickedness, principalities and powers, and the rulers of the darkness of this world, both within and without.

“ Oh! my beloved! I have waited like a dove at the windows of the ark; and have stood still in that watch which the Master, without whom I could do nothing, did at his coming reward with the fulness of his love, wherein my heart did rejoice, that I might, in the love and life of God, speak a few words to you, sealed with the spirit of promise, that the taste thereof might be a savour of life to your life, and a testimony in you of my innocent death. And if I had been altogether silent, and the Lord had not opened my mouth unto you, yet he would have opened your hearts, and there have sealed my innocence

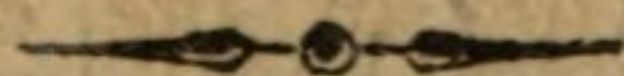
with the streams of life, by which we are all baptized into that body which is of God, with whom and in whose presence there is life; in which as you abide, you stand upon the pillar and ground of truth. For the life being the truth and the way, go not one step without it, lest you should compass a mountain in the wilderness; for to every thing there is a season.

“As the flowing of the ocean doth fill every creek and branch thereof, and then retires again towards its own being and fulness, and leaves a savour behind it, so doth the life and virtue of God flow into every one of your hearts, whom he hath made partakers of his Divine nature; and when it withdraws but a little, it leaves a sweet savour behind it, that many can say they are made clean through the word that he hath spoken to them; in which innocent condition you may see what you are in the presence of God, and what you are without Him.”

He then proceeds in a strain of instructive exhortation to his friends; but what is already quoted may be sufficient to manifest the desirable state of mind, which he experienced on this solemn occasion.

CHAPTER VII.

LIFE OF THOMAS ALDAM.



THIS Friend was one of the earliest converts of George Fox in the county of York. His mother, wife, and two sisters, were all convinced about the same time. This was in 1651. His residence was at Warmsworth, near Doncaster, where I suppose him to have been born; but in what year I have not been able to ascertain.

Previous to his knowledge of George Fox, he appears to have been a man religiously disposed, and was much attached to some of the ministers of that day, I suppose those called Puritans, who at that time, having overturned Episcopacy, took possession of the places of public worship and the livings of their predecessors. With these, however, he became dissatisfied, for he aspired after a greater degree of light and purity than he had yet

met with. Such was his condition, when George Fox came into the neighbourhood of his residence, through whose ministry he was effectually turned from darkness to light, and from the power of satan unto God.

The doctrine of a principle of Divine Light, or the Spirit of Christ illuminating the soul, and opening to it the way of life and salvation, was readily acknowledged by him; through which he was drawn from a dependance on his former teachers, separated from the ways of the world, and himself qualified to bear a living testimony to the truth, inviting others to "taste and see how good the Lord is."

In his ministerial labours, he was not only exercised in the meetings of his Friends, but often attended the public places of worship, where he was frequently concerned to speak of the things of God, and at times to testify against the conduct both of the priests and people. He was thus engaged at Warmsworth, Hatfield, Wickersley, Edlington, Tickhill, Bawtry, Thorne, Handsworth, Rossington, and Pontefract. In almost all these places he met with very rude, severe treatment; but at Thorne, when the priest ordered the constable to take out that rude and uncivil fellow, who came so uncivilly in and made a disturbance; the con-

stable being of a different spirit from the priest, replied: "He disturbeth no man, nor doth any man harm." After the priest had finished his sermon, Thomas Aldam preached to the people. Some of the rude sort, after the example of their priest, reviled him; and, not content with words, proceeded to blows, both with their hands and feet, and even spit upon him, turning him out of their church, as they called it. This may serve as rather a favourable specimen of the treatment, which he generally met with on these occasions.

About the year 1652, in consequence of a concern of this kind at Warmsworth, he was committed to York Castle by Darcy Wentworth, John Copley, George Byard, and Thomas Westby, justices. It is likely he was the first Friend who was a prisoner in that place for his religious principles, and he was continued a prisoner about two years and a half; during which time he was not only prevented from visiting his family, but his wife and relations frequently were not suffered to visit him.

During this long imprisonment, he was brought to trial before Judge Parker; but Thomas Aldam not paying the judge the usual compliment of taking off the hat, and likewise addressing him in the singular number, with some remonstrances on

his conduct, the judge fined him forty pounds, and committed him to prison with an order for him to be kept close prisoner till he paid it; but, on application to Oliver Cromwell, an order was given for his liberation. He bore his long confinement with much patience, under a sense of the Lord's goodness to him; and he had many opportunities of religious service, and of remonstrating with the judges and justices, on the sufferings which they imposed on an innocent people.

Besides this imprisonment, he also suffered much in his property for not paying tithes and other ecclesiastical demands. So great was the enmity of the priest of Warmsworth, that after all his cows had been taken from him, and he had borrowed one of a relation to supply his family with milk, the cruel priest threatened to take that away also. This priest, however, was reduced to poverty, his own children prodigally spending his property, and he himself died suddenly.

Though Thomas Aldam was a great sufferer, both in body and property, on account of his religious principles, yet his feelings were not confined to himself, but were extended to his suffering Friends, in various parts of the nation; for whose relief he travelled much in England, Scotland, and Ireland, visiting them in their prisons, and laying

their distressing situations before those in authority. It was on one of these occasions, when applying to Oliver Cromwell, that he took off his cap before the Protector, and tore it to pieces, saying: "So shall thy government be torn from thee and thy house." This prediction he just lived to see fulfilled, dying in the year 1660.

In his last illness, he experienced much inward support and resignation to the event. At one time he felt his strength so renewed, that he thought he could go to London, if required; but soon added: "I am clear of the blood of all men; I feel nothing to this man," meaning Charles the Second, who was then just restored to his crown. The day before he died, he called his children together, and after giving them some advice, took his leave of them, and the next day resigned his soul into the hands of his Creator.

From the character I find given of this Friend, he appears to have been possessed of many excellent qualities. He was a man of great courage and firmness of mind, and being fully dedicated to the service of God and the support of his religious principles, he laboured and suffered much in that day of violence and persecution. Whilst his testimony was sharp against evil-doers, he was very tender towards those in whom he discovered sin-

ere desires towards God and the knowledge of his truth. He was a man of universal charity, manifesting a disposition to do good unto all men, and thus showing forth the praise of Him who had called him out of darkness into his marvellous light.

In his own family, to use the words of his son, "He was often very broken hearted, watching over his children in the fear of the Lord. And when I remember the fervency of spirit which did attend him, and how, when he had been to take a journey on Truth's account, he would have called his wife and children, and in great tenderness and humility have bowed his knees before the Lord, and poured out his supplications unto Him, desiring earnestly that the Lord might go with him, and committing us into his keeping; and what brokenness of heart was amongst us at such times, and how the love of God did abound, then can my soul say, those were precious seasons, and are not to be forgotten by us; but to be recorded to posterity, that we may tell our children, and they also may declare it when we are gone, how good the Lord hath been unto his people, and what great cause they have to love Him, and put their trust in Him; that so his name may be renowned amongst our families, so long as they shall have a being."

It has already been noticed, that Thomas Aldam's mother, wife, and two sisters, were all convinced by George Fox. Of the mother I find no further notice. His wife survived him only about three months : she was a religious woman, " of a very meek and quiet spirit, given up in all things to God's disposing."

The two sisters, Margaret Kellam and Joan Kellam, continued faithful to the convictions they had received, and were both serviceable women in the Society. Margaret travelled much in Truth's service, and many were convinced by her. She suffered imprisonment in several places, as Exeter, Banbury, and York. " Great," says her nephew, " was the boldness that did attend her, in sounding forth the truth, in the streets, steeple-houses, and market-places, and to the heads and rulers of the people ; and the Lord was with her. She finished her course in the faith, signifying to a near relation, before her departure, the great peace she enjoyed with the Lord, and the clearness of conscience she had before him." She died in the year 1672.

Joan Kellam died in the year 1681, having been a very useful woman, and of much religious experience, by which she became as a mother in Israel, and a tender sympathizer with those who

were in a state of suffering, whether in body or in mind.

These accounts are principally taken from a publication by Thomas Aldam, son of him whose life has just been noticed. The son appears to have been a very useful member of the Society of Friends, but I find little on record relating to him. George Fox, in a testimony respecting the father, calls the son "a hopeful young man;" and it is probable before I come in the order of my work to the time of his decease, something may be found concerning him deserving of further notice.



CHAPTER VIII.

LIFE OF JAMES NAYLER.

HE was born in the parish of Ardsley, near Wakefield, in Yorkshire, about the year 1616. His father was a husbandman of good repute and property. He gave his son a good English education. who married about the time of his removal into the parish of Wakefield. When the civil wars broke out, he entered into the Parliament's army, first under Lord Fairfax, and afterwards as quarter-master, under Major-General Lambert. He continued in the army about eight years, when being disabled by sickness in Scotland, he returned home about the year 1649.

In 1651, George Fox visited that part of Yorkshire where James Nayler resided, and he with many others attached themselves unto him. He appears to have been one of those who had imbibed, previous to their acquaintance with George

Fox, the same religious principles, and therefore gladly received his testimony.

Soon after this, he apprehended himself called to leave his family and devote himself to the service of God. Of this he gives a particular account in his trial at Appleby, of which this is the substance: "That when he was at plough, meditating on the things of God, he heard a voice bidding him go out from his kindred and his father's house, having a promise given with it, that the Lord would be with him." At this he did exceedingly rejoice, that he had heard the voice of God, whom he had believed in from a child, and whom he endeavoured to serve. When he went home, he made preparation for his journey; but being afterwards disobedient, the wrath of God, he says, was upon him, so that he was made a wonder to others, and it was thought he would have died; but being afterwards made willing, and going out with a friend, not then thinking on a journey, he was commanded to go Westward, not knowing what he was to do there; but when he came, it was given him what to declare. Thus he continued, not knowing one day what he was to do the next; yet the promise of God, that he would be with him, he found made good to him every day.

It appears that he first travelled into Lancashire, where we find him with George Fox in the Island of Walney, a fellow-sufferer in the cruelty of the barbarous inhabitants of that place. He was also a party in the trial at Lancaster Sessions, related in the life of George Fox. James Nayler afterwards travelled into Westmorland; and at Kendal and the neighbourhood, received some rude treatment from the priests and people; but they were not permitted to injure him or his companions.

At Orton, where he and several Friends designed to hold a religious meeting, five priests and many people assembled to make disturbance, and prevent the meeting being held. The priests invited James and his friends to hold the meeting in the town field, and they accepted the offer, seeing that a private house was not sufficient to accommodate the numbers collected. Here the priests began to dispute on the impropriety of meeting there, and collecting so many people together to break the peace. Much wrangling succeeded, after which James returned to the house of one of his friends, where the meeting was held, though with much disturbance from the rude people, who were collected for the purpose of mischief; no material injury was, however, sustained, and that evening James left the place, and thus for the present escaped the fury of his enemies.

strenuous endeavours of some of the justices, the charge could not be substantiated; and Anthony Pearson, who then sat on the bench, was convinced by the examination of James Nayler. Benson was another of the justices, and was fully sensible of the insufficiency of the evidence to prove the charge of blasphemy; but notwithstanding the evident innocence of the prisoner, two other justices were so violent as to commit him upon the petitions of the ministers, though at the hazard of being fined by the judges at the assizes. It was therefore ordered that James Nayler and Francis Howgill should remain in prison, where they were arbitrarily confined about five months, and then discharged.

After his liberation, James continued some time in the North; and when he had finished his service there, he travelled Southward, and came to London in the year 1654 or 5. Here began those temptations of self-exaltation and spiritual pride, which for a time separated him from his brethren, and subjected him to severe bodily sufferings, from those who were then in power.

Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill were at that time in the city, and great success attended their ministry. With them James Nayler united, and his gift being of a very sublime and captivat-

them hearing, said : " If we let him go on thus, all people will run after him." He was therefore again haled out of the house, taken by the justice and priest to a neighbouring alehouse, and there committed to Appleby jail. He was taken to Kirkby Stephen that night, where many of his friends followed him ; and Francis Howgill, speaking to the people, was also taken up, and committed to Appleby prison with James Nayler.

Whilst these innocent sufferers were in jail, their enemies were busily employed in obtaining all the accusations they could against them ; and at the sessions held at Appleby, in the month called January, 1652, James Nayler was tried on an indictment for blasphemy. This charge was occasioned by the doctrine preached, and particularly insisted on by our early Friends, that of the Light of Christ universally communicated to the human race. This they termed, with the Apostle of the Gentiles, " Christ in you the Hope of Glory ; and further illustrated with an exhortation of the same Apostle : " Prove yourselves, know ye not your ownelves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates."

This doctrine the enemies of the Society endeavoured to convert into a blasphemous application of Christ to themselves ; but notwithstanding the

strenuous endeavours of some of the justices, the charge could not be substantiated; and Anthony Pearson, who then sat on the bench, was convinced by the examination of James Nayler. Benson was another of the justices, and was fully sensible of the insufficiency of the evidence to prove the charge of blasphemy; but notwithstanding the evident innocence of the prisoner, two other justices were so violent as to commit him upon the petitions of the ministers, though at the hazard of being fined by the judges at the assizes. It was therefore ordered that James Nayler and Francis Howgill should remain in prison, where they were arbitrarily confined about five months, and then discharged.

After his liberation, James continued some time in the North; and when he had finished his service there, he travelled Southward, and came to London in the year 1654 or 5. Here began those temptations of self-exaltation and spiritual pride, which for a time separated him from his brethren, and subjected him to severe bodily sufferings, from those who were then in power.

Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill were at that time in the city, and great success attended their ministry. With them James Nayler united, and his gift being of a very sublime and captivat-

ing kind, as well as deep and sound, he became much admired and followed by many of those who heard him, some of whom were so injudicious and weak as to draw invidious comparisons between him and his brethren. This proceeded so far, that Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill were sometimes interrupted in their religious services, by the pretended friends of James Nayler. A woman of the name of Martha Simmons, was the principal in this improper conduct; and when reproved for it, she made her complaint to James Nayler in so lamentable and moving a manner, that he was carried away with her reflections on his best friends and fellow-labourers in the same gospel.

When his indiscreet followers had so far prevailed, as in a great measure to separate him from his former friends, they proceeded to greater lengths of wild and extravagant conduct. Leaving London, he travelled as far as Exeter, where it appears he was committed to prison; and during his confinement here, Martha Simmons, with other two women alike reprehensible as herself, proceeded so far in their extravagance as to bow and kneel before him, and to kiss his feet. Nor did they stop here, but both he and they became so darkened in their imaginations, that after his release from Exeter prison, he permitted these

women and a man, to act the most extravagant conduct towards him. The man went bareheaded before him, a woman led his horse, the three women, already noticed, spread their scarfs and handkerchiefs before him, while a number of persons in company sung, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of Hosts, Hosannah in the highest. Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of Israel."

When they came to Bristol, James Nayler and several of his company, were examined by the magistrates on account of their extravagant conduct, and afterwards committed to prison. From Bristol they were removed to London, to be examined by the Parliament, or a Committee of the House. The attention of Parliament was occupied many days on the subject, and much diversity of sentiment prevailed on the punishment proper to be inflicted.

On the 17th of December, 1656, after a long debate, the House came to the following resolution: "That James Nayler be set on the pillory, with his head in the pillory in the Palace Yard, Westminster, during the space of two hours, on Thursday next, and be whipt by the hangman through the streets, from Westminster to the Old Exchange, London; and there likewise be set on the pillory, with his head in the pillory, for the

space of two hours, between the hours of eleven and one on Saturday next; in each place wearing a paper containing an inscription of his crimes; and that at the Old Exchange his tongue be bored through with a hot iron, and he be there also stigmatized in the forehead with the letter B. And that he be afterwards sent to Bristol, and be conveyed through the said city on horseback, with his face backward, and there also be publicly whipt the next market-day after he comes thither; and that from thence he be committed to prison in Bridewell, London, and restrained from the society of all people, and there to labour hard till he shall be released by Parliament; and during that time be debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper, and shall have no relief, but what he earns by his daily labour."

I do not find that any punishment was inflicted on those to whom the charge of blasphemy most properly belonged; for though Nayler was certainly highly culpable in permitting such conduct towards him; yet it might be considered, that, in the eye of the law, those who behaved in so improper a manner, were the guilty persons. Indeed many people thought that the sentence was a very severe one to be executed upon a person, whose crime seemed to proceed more from a clouded understanding, than from any evil intention.

The day after the sentence was pronounced, the first part of it was put in execution, and borne with so much patience and quietness, as was astonishing to the beholders. His body was in a most pitiable state, and in addition to the three hundred and ten stripes which he received on his body, his feet were much hurt by the horses treading on them, so that the prints of their shoe nails were visible. A person who washed his wounds, in a certificate which was presented to Parliament, thus describes his situation: "There was not the space of a man's nail free from stripes and blood, from his shoulder near to his waist; his right arm sorely striped, his hands so much hurt with cords, that they bled and were swelled. The blood and wounds of his back did very little appear at first sight, by reason of the abundance of dirt that covered them till it was washed off."

Many people, not of the Society of Friends, were so affected with the severity of this punishment, that application was made to Parliament for a postponement of the rest of the sentence, which was to take place only two days after the first part was executed. This request was granted, and a week's respite obtained, which was employed in further applications, first to the Parliament, and afterwards to the Protector, for a total remission of the rest of the sentence. Five minis-

ters, whose names were Caryl, Monton, Nye, Griffith, and Reynolds, were sent to converse with Nayler; but though he gave such explanations as might free him from the charge of blasphemy, yet his understanding appears to have been still much clouded, and he far from being sufficiently sensible of the great impropriety of those extravagant expressions, which were used towards him, and which he considered as only applied to Christ, who, according to his principles, was in him.

Notwithstanding the earnest applications which were made, it was concluded to inflict the remaining part of the sentence, with the intermission of only one week. Accordingly, on the 27th, he was taken to the Exchange, where he was put into the pillory, his tongue bored through, and his forehead branded, with a hot iron. It was very remarkable, that although many thousands of people were supposed to be present, great quietness prevailed, and very few were heard to revile him, or seen to throw any thing at him. One general sympathy appears to have been excited by his cruel punishment, for admitting the worst on his part, it may certainly be considered as exhibiting a specimen of the harsh and unfeeling temper, which so generally marked those times.

After the execution of his sentence in London, he was sent to Bristol, and the remainder of his sentence was executed there. He was then committed to Newgate in that City, and thence returned to Bridewell in London, where he was kept a prisoner for about two years. During this imprisonment, he was favoured with a deep sense of his transgressions, and also with a true repentance for them; and having obtained the use of pen and ink, he wrote several books and papers, condemning his conduct in very feeling terms; to which he added several more after his release from Bridewell.

The following pieces extracted from these publications, will no doubt be acceptable to the reader.

1st, A Testimony to Christ Jesus, delivered to the Parliament who persecuted him as a Blasphemer, written in the time of his imprisonment in Bridewell. See James Nayler's Works, Introduction, page xxxv.

2d & 3d, Two short papers of Confessions, &c. taken out of his own hand-writing, page xxv & vi.—*Ibid.*

4th, Beginning "Glory to God Almighty," page li. &c.—*Ibid.*

5th, "And in the day when my God lifted my feet out of the pit was this given forth," page xlix.—*Ibid.*

No. 1. A TESTIMONY to CHRIST JESUS, &c.

“ Christ Jesus the *Immanuel*, of whose sufferings the Scriptures declare, Him alone I confess before men, for whose sake I have denied whatever was dear to me in this world, that I might win him, and be found in him and not in myself; whose life and virtue I find daily manifest in my mortal body; (which is my eternal joy and hope of glory;) whom alone I seek to serve in spirit, soul and body, night and day, according to the measure of grace working in me, that in me he may be glorified whether by life or death; and for his sake I suffer all things, that He alone may have the glory of my change, whose work alone it is in me. Even to that Eternal Spirit be glory, and to the Lamb, for ever.

“ But to ascribe this name, power, and virtue to *James Nayler*, or to that which had a beginning and must return to dust, or for that to be exalted or worshipped, to me is great idolatry; and with the Spirit of Christ Jesus in me it is condemned; which Spirit leads to lowliness, meekness, and long-suffering.

“ So having an opportunity given, with readiness, I am willing in the fear of God the Father, in

honour to Jesus Christ, and to take off all offences from every simple heart, this to declare to all the world, as the truth of Christ is in me, without guile or deceit, daily finding it to be my work to seek peace in truth, with all men, in that Spirit.

“JAMES NAYLER.”

No. 2 & 3. TWO SHORT PAPERS, &c.

“Dear Brethren,

“My heart is broken this day for the offence that I have occasioned to God’s truth and people, and especially to you, who in dear love followed me, seeking me in faithfulness to God; which I rejected, being bound wherein I could not come forth, till God’s hand brought me, to whose love I now confess; and I beseech you forgive wherein I evilly requited your love in that day. God knows my sorrow for it since I see it, that ever I should offend that of God in any, or reject his counsel; and now that paper you have seen lies much upon me, and I greatly fear further to offend or do amiss, whereby the innocent truth or people

of God should suffer, or that I should disobey therein.

“ Unless the Lord himself keep you from me, I beseech you let nothing else hinder your coming to me, that I might have your help in the Lord. In the mercies of Jesus Christ, this I beg of you, as if it was your own case, let me not be forgotten of you.

“ And I beseech you speak to *Henry Clarke*, or whoever else I have most offended; and by the power of God, and in the Spirit of Christ Jesus, I am willing to confess the offence; that God's love may arise in all hearts as before, if it be his will, who only can remove what stands in the way; and nothing thereof do I intend to cover. God is witness herein.”

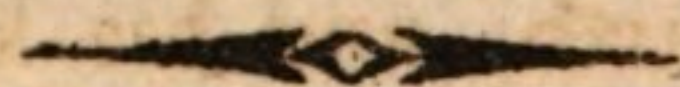


“ Dear Friend,

“ I would not grieve thee, nor any way offend the people of the Lord, who is my witness of the daily sorrow and travail of my soul, for the offences which have been already, and that the peace of any should be broken through me who are dear

to me ; and nothing have I in this world near in my heart, but his innocent people, whom he hath called out of the world ; and I cannot trouble you but I oppress my own life ; the Lord God of Peace rebuke him, who daily seeks to turn the simplicity out of its way ; who hath long withstood me, and doth withstand me. Truly my heart dreads for fear of more divisions, gladly would I see thy face, if it be the will of God ; my bowels earn in unfeigned love towards thee. God knows I lie not ; and in the spirit of meekness I know thou wilt feel me in truth. And whatever the Lord, in any of you, shall lay upon me, I am willing to suffer or do, that all breaches may be removed from the just.

“ JAMES NAYLER.”



No. 4.

“ Glory to God Almighty who ruleth in the heavens ; and in whose hands are all the kingdoms of the earth ; who raiseth up and casteth down at his will ; who hath ways to confound the exaltation of man, and to chastize his children ; and to make man to know himself to be as grass before him, whose judgments are above the highest

of men, and his pity reacheth the deepest misery; and the arm of his mercy is underneath to lift up the prisoner out of the pit, and to save such as trust in Him from the great destruction, which vain man, through his folly, brings on himself; who hath delivered my soul out of darkness, and made way for my freedom out of the prison-house, and ransomed me from the great captivity; who divides the seas before him, and removes the mountains out of his way, in the day when he takes upon him to deliver the oppressed out of the hand of him, that is too mighty for him, in the earth. Let his name be exalted for ever; and let all flesh fear before Him whose breath is life to His own; but a consuming fire to the adversary.

“ And to the Lord Jesus Christ, be everlasting dominion upon earth, and his kingdom above all the powers of darkness, even that Christ of whom the Scriptures declare, which was, and is, and is to come, the light of the world to all generations; of whose coming I testify, with the rest of the children of light, begotten of the immortal Seed, whose truth and virtue now shine in the world unto the righteousness of eternal life, and the Saviour of all that believe therein; who hath been the rock of my salvation, and his Spirit hath given quietness and patience to my soul in deep

affliction, even for his name's sake. Praises for ever.

“ But condemned for ever be all those false worships, with which any have idolized my person, in the night of my temptation, when the power of darkness was above. All their casting off the clothes in the way, their bowings and singings, and all the rest of those wild actions, which did any way tend to dishonour the Lord, or draw the minds of any from the measure of Christ Jesus in themselves, to look at flesh which is grass, or to ascribe that to the visible which belongs to Christ Jesus; *all that* I condemn, by which the pure name of the Lord hath any way been blasphemed through me, in that time of temptation, or the spirits of any people grieved that truly love the Lord Jesus, throughout the whole world, of what sort soever.

“ And all those ranting, wild spirits, which then gathered about me, in the time of my darkness; and all their wild actions, and wicked words against the honour of God, and his pure Spirit and people: I deny the spirit, the power and the works thereof, and as far as I gave advantage, through want of judgment, for that evil spirit in any to arise, I take shame to myself justly, having formerly had power over that spirit in judgment

and discerning, wherever it was; which darkness came over me through want of watchfulness and obedience to the pure eye of God, and diligent minding the reproof of life, which condemns the adulterous spirit. So the adversary got advantage, who ceases not to seek to devour, and being taken captive from the true light, [I] walked in the night, where none can work, as a wandering bird fit for the prey; and if the Lord of all my mercies had not rescued me, I had perished; for I was as one appointed to death and destruction; and there was none that could deliver me.

“ And this I confess, that God may be justified in his judgment, and magnified in his mercies without end; who did not forsake his captive in the night, even when his Spirit was daily provoked and grieved; but hath brought me forth to give glory to his name for ever. And it is in my heart to confess to God, and before men, my folly and offence in that day; yet was there many things formed against me at that day, to take away my life, and cast upon the truth, of which I am not guilty at all; as that accusation as if I had committed adultery with some of those women who came with us from *Exeter* prison; and also those who were with me at *Bristol*, the night before I suffered there. Of both which accusations I am clear before God, who kept me at that day, both in thought and

deed, as to all women, as a little child. God is my record. And this I mention in particular, hearing of some who still cease not to reproach therein, God's truth and people; that the mouth of enmity may be shut from evil-speaking, though this touch not my conscience.

“ And this I give forth, that it may go as far as the offence against the spirit of truth hath gone abroad, that all burthens may be taken off with the truth, and the truth cleared thereby, and the true light and all that walk therein; and the deeds of darkness be condemned; and that all that are in darkness may not act in the night, but stay upon God who dwells in the light, who, with the workers of iniquity, hath not fellowship; which had I done, when first darkness came upon me, and not been led by others, I had not run against that rock to be broken, which so long had borne me, and of whom I had so largely drunken, and of which I now drink in measure; to whom be the glory of all, and to Him must every tongue confess, as Judge and Saviour, God over all, blessed for ever.

“ JAMES NAYLER.”

No. 5. *And in that day when my God lifted my feet out of the pit, was this given forth.*

“ It is in my heart to praise thee, Oh my God! Let me never forget Thee, what thou hast been to me in the night, by thy presence. In the day of trial, when I was beset in darkness, when I was cast out as a wandering bird, when I was assaulted with strong temptations, then thy presence in secret did preserve me; and in a low estate I felt thee near me. When the floods sought to sweep me away, thou set a compass for them, how far they should pass over; when my way was through the sea, and when I passed under the mountains, there was thou present with me. When the weight of the hills was upon me, thou upheldest me, else had I sunk under the earth. When I was as one altogether helpless; when tribulation and anguish was upon me day and night, and the earth without foundation; when I went on the way of wrath, and passed by the gates of hell; when all comforts stood afar off, and he that is mine enemy had dominion; when I was cast into the pit, and was as one appointed to death; when I was between the millstones, and as one crushed with the weight of his adversary, as a Father thou wast with me, and the rock of thy presence. When the mouths of lions roared against me, and fear took hold of my soul in the pit, then I called upon thee in

the night, and my cries were strong before thee daily, who answeredst me from thy habitation, and deliveredst me from thy dwelling place; saying, *I will set thee above all thy fears, and lift up thy feet above the head of oppression.*

“I believed and was strengthened, and thy word was salvation. Thou didst fight on my part when I wrestled with death; and when darkness would have shut me up, then thy light shone about me, and thy banner was over my head. When my work was in the furnace, and as I passed through the fire, by thee I was not consumed, though the flames ascended above my head. When I beheld the dreadful visions, and was amongst the fiery spirits, thy faith stayed me; else through fear I had fallen. I saw thee and believed; so the enemy could not prevail.

“When I look back into thy works, I am astonished; and see no end of thy praises. Glory, glory, to thee, saith my soul; and let my heart be ever filled with thanksgiving. Whilst thy works remain, they shall show forth thy power. Then didst thou lay the foundation of the earth, and ledst me under the waters; and in the deep didst thou show me wonders, and the forming of the world. By thy hand thou ledst me in safety till thou showedst me the pillars of the earth. Then

did the heavens shower down; they were covered with darkness and the powers thereof were shaken, and thy glory descended. Thou filledst the lower parts of the earth with gladness, and the springs of the valleys were opened. Thy showers descended abundantly; so the earth was filled with virtue. Thou madest thy plant to spring, and the thirsty soul became as a watered garden. Then didst thou lift me out of the pit, and set me forth in the sight of my enemies. Thou proclaimedst liberty to the captives, and calledst my acquaintance near me. They to whom I had been a wonder looked upon me; and, in thy love, I obtained favour in those who had forsook me. Then did gladness swallow up sorrow, and I forsook all my troubles; and I said how good is it that man be proved in the night, that he may know his folly; that every mouth may become silent in thy hand, until thou makest man known to himself, and hast slain the boaster, and showed him the vanity that vexeth thy Spirit."

Printed A. D. 1659.

The foregoing papers must convince every unprejudiced person, of the sincerity of James Nayler's repentance, and I think will also excite a

a feeling of tender sympathy with him under his deep sufferings, bodily and mental. They certainly represent him in an amiable point of view, and engage our attention and respect, as well as our sympathy.

After his liberation, he continued some time in London; but it appears went once as far as Bristol, where in a public meeting he made confession of his offence, in so powerful a manner, as drew tears from nearly all present; and many who were not so before, became reconciled to him.

In the year 1660, he left London with a view of returning to his family in Yorkshire. In the course of his journey, he was seen by a Friend of Hertford, sitting by the wayside in a very awful frame of mind. The Friend invited him to his house, but he declined the invitation, signifying his desire to press forward. He proceeded into Huntingdonshire, travelling on foot, and was observed by a Friend in that county, passing through a town, with such a solemn countenance, as indicated his being redeemed from the earth, and as a stranger or pilgrim in it, who was seeking a better country and inheritance.

When he was a few miles north of Huntingdon he was taken ill, and it was said robbed and left

bound. Being found by a countryman, he was taken to a Friend's house at Holm, near King's Ripton. At the latter place lived Thomas Parnel, a physician, who came to visit him. After his friends had performed some kind offices to him, he said: "You have refreshed my body, the Lord refresh your souls." He did not live long after his removal to this Friend's house, but departed this life in peace, about the 9th month, 1660, in the 44th year of his age, and was buried in Thomas Parnel's burying ground, at King's Ripton.

About two hours before his decease, he expressed himself to the following import: "There is a Spirit which I feel, that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong; but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end. Its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations. As it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none to any other. If it be betrayed, it bears it; for its ground or spring is the mercies and forgiveness of God. Its crown is meekness; its life is everlasting love unfeigned; it takes its kingdom with intreaty and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life. It is conceived in sorrow,

and brought forth without any to pity it, nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth but through sufferings, for with the world's joy it is murdered. I found it alone, being forsaken, I have fellowship therein with them who lived in dens and desolate places in the earth; who through death obtained this resurrection and eternal holy life."



CHAPTER IX.

LIFE OF JOHN LILBURNE.

ACCORDING to the account published in the Biographical Dictionary of 1798, in 15 octavo volumes, this singular man was born in the county of Durham, in the year 1618. Though he was not, for the greatest part of his life, a member of the Society of Friends; yet, as he at length received their principles and died in their faith, he seems to claim a place in these Memoirs. And the reader is desired particularly to notice, the difference between the turbulence of the partizan, which marked the early and the principal part of his life; and the calmness and meekness of his latter days, after he had adopted the principles of the despised people, called Quakers.

His father was possessed of a valuable estate, and resided at Thickney Purcharden, the family

seat, in the county of Durham. John was a younger son, and being placed out as an apprentice to a clothier or woollen-draper in London, when only twelve years of age, he must have acquired a very small stock of learning. The master was a Puritan, and the apprentice had been educated in the same religious sentiments. His deficiency in learning was supplied by a precocity of parts, and forwardness of disposition, which rendered his situation as an apprentice, uneasy to him, and he complained to the Chamberlain of the City, of his master's ill usage. Thus early did he manifest a disposition, impatient of control, which he carried with him through the greatest part of his life.

The times in which Lilburne lived, were such as were likely to find employment for his active and enterprising mind. When his apprenticeship expired, instead of prosecuting his trade, he attached himself to the discontented party of that day, and in the year 1636, was sent to Holland by Dr. Bastwick, who was a prisoner by order of the Star Chamber, in the Gatehouse, London. Lilburne's errand was to obtain the printing of some pieces in Holland, unfavourable both to the civil and ecclesiastical government of this country, the principal of which, was Bastwick's "Merry Liturgy." For the distribution of these and other similar publications, he was brought before the

High Commission Court, and sentenced to be whipped at the cart's tail, from Fleet Prison to the Old Palace Yard; there to stand two hours on the pillory; to remain in the Fleet Prison till he conformed to the rules of the court; to pay a fine of 500*l.* to the king, and to find security for his good behaviour.

He bore his punishment with so much fortitude and spirit, that he acquired the name of "Free-born John" from his enemies; while his friends esteemed him as a saint. These circumstances occurred in the year 1637, and it appears that he continued a prisoner in the Fleet till 1640, part of the time loaded with double irons on his arms and legs, and confined in one of the worst wards. Here he was suspected of setting the prison on fire, but probably without cause. The fear of him, however, produced some amelioration of his situation, by which means he found opportunity to publish a piece of his own, entitled "The Christian Man's Trial."

The party to which Lilburne was attached, gaining the ascendancy, he was liberated; yet his restless spirit soon brought him again into difficulties. Early in the year 1641, he was arraigned before the House of Lords, for an assault upon the Governor of the Tower, Colonel Lunsford;

but was soon dismissed; and in 1646, and some succeeding years, he obtained decrees for a pecuniary remuneration on account of his sufferings, out of the estates of those who were attached to the royal party.

The civil wars now broke out with great violence, and Lilburne of course attached himself to the Parliament. He entered the army as a captain under the Earl of Essex, and was taken prisoner in an engagement at Brentford, but was exchanged for one considerably above his rank, after being tried at Oxford for high treason. When the Earl pressed the Scotch Covenant upon his followers, Lilburne differed with him, and through Cromwell's interest was advanced in the army. In this station he signalized himself on various occasions, particularly in the battle of Marston Moor, near York; and was advanced to the station of lieutenant-colonel, under the Earl of Manchester. This appears to have been the termination of his military career; for, quarrelling with the Earl, he consequently lost his station under him, and he was also committed, first to Newgate, and afterwards to the Tower, for his improper conduct to the Earl, as Speaker of the House of Lords. He continued prisoner till the year 1648, when an order was made to discharge him from his imprisonment, and to make him compensation for his sufferings.

In the year 1649, he was again brought to trial for high treason, against Oliver Cromwell and the House of Commons; both of whom he had represented, in divers publications, as destroying the liberties of the people of England. The expressions which he used in these publications, manifest the most undaunted courage in the support of those principles of liberty in which he had engaged. One of the publications was entitled, "An Impeachment of High-Treason against Oliver Cromwell, and his Son-in-law Henry Ireton, Esquires, late Members of the late forcibly dissolved House of Commons, presented to public View, by Lieutenant Colonel John Lilburne, close Prisoner in the Tower of London, for his real, true, and zealous Affection to the Liberties of this Nation." The bold title of this piece will convey an idea of the spirit in which it was written, and both Cromwell, and the whole Government as then constituted, are represented in such a degrading point of view, as must have been very galling to their feelings; and, considering the point and ability with which Lilburne wrote, very injurious to their power.

In the course of his trial he manifested that undaunted spirit and genuine love of liberty, which had always characterized him. So low was the opinion which he entertained of the then existing

government, that he declared what he had done was not only no high-treason; but that the government was such that no high-treason could be committed against it, and that therefore all true Englishmen were obliged to oppose the tyranny that was exercised.

The trial lasted three days, during which Lilburne pleaded his own cause with so much force of argument, that the jury unanimously acquitted him of the charges brought against him.

When the verdict was pronounced, the people in Guildhall, where he was tried, shouted for joy, for about half an hour; and the judges, who had used all the means they could to condemn the prisoner, felt much chagrined with the verdict, and with the demonstrations of joy which it produced. It appears from this trial, as well as from various other circumstances, that much dissatisfaction existed with the ruling powers, who had disappointed the expectations of the people in various matters, which they had given reason to suppose would be reformed, in case they came into power; and this disappointment so operated upon Lilburne's irritable mind, as to produce the violent conduct and expressions for which he was tried.

Lilburne was no doubt a man of a turbulent spirit; so much so, that it was sarcastically said of him, if he only were left in the world, John would be against Lilburne, and Lilburne against John. He, however, possessed an honest independence of mind, with a consistent love of liberty. Many as well as himself had risked their lives, in opposing the monarchy and hierarchy of the preceding rulers; and they vainly hoped, that after demolishing a government which was disagreeable to them, and of which they had many just causes of complaint, they should be able to erect one that would be perfect. In this, however, as is commonly the case, they were sorrowfully disappointed; and according to their own representations, they were much more dissatisfied with the new than with the old state of things.

It rarely happens that those who are instrumental in the destruction of existing governments, are qualified to supply their places with better. But in all these commotions, the eye of the *Christian* is directed to that over-ruling Providence, who makes them ultimately conducive to his glory, and to the benefit of mankind. "His way is in the whirlwind and in the storm, [political as well as natural,] and the clouds are as the dust under his feet."

In 1651, Lilburne involved himself in fresh contention, in consequence of which the Parliament fined him 7000*l.* and banished him from the nation. Before the act of banishment could pass, he fled to Amsterdam, but, returning without leave, he was again arrested and imprisoned. Dover Castle was, in 1655, the place of his confinement; and it was during his residence there, that he was visited by Luke Howard, a Friend of that town. By his religious conversation he was not only convinced of the Principles of the Society to which Howard belonged; but his mind became settled in a degree of calmness, to which he had before been much a stranger. His wife had manifested much affectionate attachment to him in his sufferings, as he had also done to her, and knowing, I suppose, of the alteration which had taken place in her husband's mind, she endeavoured to strengthen him with the following advice, in a letter which she wrote to him.

“ My Dear, Retain a sober, patient spirit within thee, which I am confident thou shalt see will be of more force to recover thee, than all thy keen metal hath been. I hope God is doing a work upon thee and me too, as shall make us study ourselves more than we have done.”

This advice was so grateful to her husband, that in replying to her, he repeated it, with these

observations : “ Oh my dear love ! I am deeply entered into my part of it. The mighty power of God enable thee to get in too, and also to go through thine ; and effectually to go cheerfully and willingly along, hand in hand with me ; which would render thee much more amiable, lovely, and pleasant in my eyes, although thou wert clothed in rags, than thou couldst be to me in thy drawing back, or standing still where thou wast, when I last saw thee, though therein thou wast clothed all over with rich and outwardly glistening earthly diamonds, and in the greatest of earthly prosperity.”

“ I am sorry thou art so straightly put to it for money ; but to live on God by faith, in the depth of straits, is the lively condition of a christian. O ! that thy spirit could attain to this, according to thy desire in thy letter, and my own present frame of spirit. I now can contentedly feed upon bread and cheese, and small beer alone, for saving of money.

“ And for my liberty, about which thou so weariest and spendest thyself, as thy letter acquaints me thou dost, I can say to thee, that I am in my present temper of spirit, really ready with Peter, at the sight of the glorious transfiguration of Christ, to say : ‘ It is good being here ;’ for

here, in Dover Castle, through the loving kindness of God, I have met with a more clear, plain, and evident knowledge of God and myself, and his gracious outgoings to my soul, than ever I had in all my life-time, not excepting my glorying and rejoicing condition under the bishops. And now submissively and heartily I can say, the will of my Heavenly Father be done in me, by me, and for me; in whose will I leave thee and thine, with all thy and my friends, and rest thine in the strength of renewedness of true love.

“JOHN LILBURNE.”

“From Dover Castle, the place of the present enjoyed, delightful Dispensation of the eternal, everlasting Love of God to my Soul, the 4th of the 10th Month, 1655.”

Although Lilburne had imbibed the Principles of Friends in general, it seems to have required considerable time to convince him that fighting was inconsistent with the spirit and precepts of the gospel. This prevented him, for some time, from signing a declaration never to draw the sword against Cromwell's Government, which would probably have earlier obtained him his liberty. But continuing faithful to the discoveries of the Light of Christ, he became so fully convinced of this gospel doctrine, that he gave forth the following paper in print.

“ I have now the faithful and true witness in my own soul, that the Lord himself is become, within me, the teacher of my soul, and enabler of me to walk in a measure of his pure ways and paths; yea, and so clear a teacher within me, is he already become unto me, as that I with confidence believe my inward teacher shall never now more be removed into a corner; but is, and shall be, as a continual voice speaking in my ears: ‘ This is the way, walk in it.’ By this divine teaching I am now daily taught to die to sin, and led up by it into living power, to be raised up and enabled to live in a pure measure of righteousness: and by which inward and spiritual teachings, I am, I say again, led up into power in Christ, by which I

particularly can, and do hereby witness, that I am already dead or crucified to the very occasions and real grounds of all outward wars, and carnal sword fighting, and fleshly bustlings and contests ; and that, therefore, confidently I now believe, I shall never hereafter be a user of a temporal sword more, nor a joiner with those that do so.

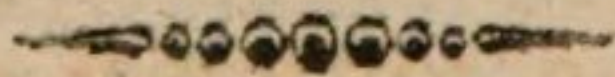
“ And this I do here solemnly declare, not in the least to avoid persecution, or for any political ends of my own, or in the least for the satisfaction of the wills of any of my great adversaries, or for satisfying the carnal will of my poor weak afflicted wife; but, by the special movings and compulsions of God, now upon my soul, am I in truth and righteousness compelled thus to declare; that so I may take away from my adversaries all their fig-leaf covers or pretences, for their continuing of my every way unjust bonds ; and that thereby, if I must yet be an imprisoned sufferer, it may this day forward be, for the truth as it is in Jesus ; which truth I witness to be truly professed and practised by the savouriest of people, called Quakers.

“ And to this my present declaration, which I exceedingly long and earnestly desire to have in print, and for which I know that I can cheerfully

and assuredly lay down my life, if I be called to witness the truth of it, I subscribe my name,

“JOHN LILBURNE.”

“From my innocent and every way
causeless captivity, in Dover Castle, the place of my soul's delightful and contentful abode, where I have really and substantially found that which my soul many years has sought diligently after, and, with unsatisfied longingness, thirsted to enjoy, this present 1st day of the week, being the 4th of the 3d month, 1655.”*



From Sewell's account it appears that Lilburne continued a prisoner till after the death of Cromwell, when he was released. But it is said in the Biographical Work already noticed, that he settled at Eltham, in Kent, passing the remainder of his days in undisturbed and undisturbing tran-

* I am apprehensive this should be 1656, in which year I find, in Whiting's Catalogue, a piece published by Lilburne, entitled, “The Resurrection of John Lilburne, now a Prisoner in Dover Castle, declared and manifested.”

quillity; and that he died there in 1657. However, Sewell, whose account I take to be correct, says, that he died in London in 1660, continuing steadfast to the doctrines he had embraced.

In this instance we have a striking proof of the influence of true Christianity. Naturally of a turbulent and irritable disposition, fostered by circumstances which led to the continued indulgence of his inclinations, the entire change in Lilburne's habits and views, during the prime of life, affords a remarkable example of that conversion, which the Apostle describes, under the figure of becoming a *new man*. Happy would it be if Christian belief were more generally thus influential!

CHAPTER X.

LIFE of GEORGE FOX the Younger.

IT does not appear that the subject of this Memoir, was any relation to the individual whose life constitutes the first volume of this work. He was called *the Younger* for the sake of distinction, both of them being eminent Members and Ministers of the Religious Society to which they belonged. He was a native of Charsfield a village about five miles north of Woodbridge, in Suffolk. Of the time of his birth, or the circumstances of his parents, I find no notice. He joined the Society of Friends about the year 1655, and both laboured and suffered much in support of those gospel truths, which he most surely believed.

He was present at the General Quarter Sessions held at Edmundsbury the 9th of October, 1655, where George Whitehead and two others were convicted as "Common Disturbers of Magistrates and Ministers;" though neither of them had spoken a word to any Magistrate or Minister, before they were taken into custody. The justices who committed them were their sole accusers, and incensed the others against them; and an ignorant jury being impannelled, they, by direction of the court, soon found the prisoners guilty; on which they were fined 20 nobles each, and committed to prison till payment should be made. George Fox the Younger observing the hard treatment of his friends, and especially the prejudice expressed by Justice Gurdon against them, was troubled at it, and thus addressed the justice as he was coming out of the sessions house. "Repent of thy unjust actions this day, for otherwise thou canst not escape the just judgments of God."

Upon hearing these words, Justice Gurdon laid hold on him, and had him before the bench, where sureties were demanded till the next sessions, and on his non-compliance he was sent to prison with his friends. Here their usage, as was too frequently the case, was very hard; for they were lodged in the common ward among felons,

in a low dungeon-like place, under the market-house, with a damp earthen floor, where they lay on rye straw. They appear also to have incurred the anger of the jailer, for not purchasing his strong liquors, and for testifying against the drunkenness, and swearing, and other disorders of his house.

In the time of their imprisonment, we are informed that George Fox received a gift and part in the ministry of the gospel. He and other fellow-prisoners were released by an order of Cromwell and his Council, dated 16th October, 1656, which extended also to their friends imprisoned at Colchester and Ipswich. At Bury the order was executed by Sir Francis Russel, a conscientious and compassionate man, averse to persecution. He sent his clerk to see the prisoners set at liberty; and instead of an order for them to be sent home, he kindly gave them an order or warrant to produce in their defence, if occasion should require, that they might travel without molestation.

During his imprisonment, and after his liberation, he published many religious addresses to people of various classes, particularly to the Army and Parliament. These contain much interesting matter; and his plain dealing and prophetic warn-

ings remarkably manifest the intrepidity of his spirit, and the clearness of his views. The following paragraph addressed to "the Army and Committee, that had turned out the Parliament," appears to deserve transcribing, for the justness of its sentiments, and the predicting voice of its declarations.

"Meddle not to establish religion and teachers by an outward law, for verily if ye do, ye will be broken. Let that alone to Christ, whose work it is. Consider all that went before you of late years, that would be meddling with such things, the Lord broke them to pieces; and they were warned in their day as ye are now. And let not the victories which ye have obtained, nor being preserved in so many overturnings, wherein ye have been made instrumental; nor your strength, courage, nor wisdom puff you up; for thus saith the Lord God, even as earthen vessels are in the hands of a potter, (who hath power to dash them one against another until they be broken, or to break them in pieces by another thing that appears more weak than they,) even so are you in my hand, saith the Lord; and I can confound your wisdom, and take away your courage, and smite you with faintness and dauntedness of spirit in the twinkling of an eye. Therefore, seek not yourselves, for if ye do, your day will be short."

In the year 1658, as he was preaching in a meeting at Dunstall or Tunstall, in Suffolk, he was violently opposed by one John Tokely, who, in a furious manner, came towards him with a drawn sword; but when he saw that George faced him without fear, he retired and fetched a loaded gun, which he fired at him, and the shot went over his head. George undaunted, continued his preaching undisturbed at the occurrence, which his opposer observing, from the force of sudden conviction, exclaimed: "Your faith is strong;" and went away.

At another time, as the subject of this Memoir was preaching in the market-place at Aldborough, he was seized by a bailiff and put out of the town; but he soon returned, and had a meeting there, at a widow's house, the same evening; whence he was taken and sent to prison. He was not however long detained; for, in four days after, we find him again preaching to the people in the steeple-house at Southwold, after the priest had done; but his *christian* concern for them was ill requited by the ruder sort, who beat him, threw him violently upon the stones, and haled him through the streets to the bailiff's house, who committed him to prison, and ordered him to be put into the inner ward, to prevent his speaking to the people.

In the 11th month, 1659, he wrote to the Parliament and their Army, whom he thus addressed : “ Your day into darkness is turned ; the sun is gone down over you ; you have had a large day, and power given unto you, to have done the will of God ; but you have abused your power, and slighted your day, and you have refused to do the Lord’s work, and have sought to serve yourselves, and not the Lord. Therefore, in justice and righteousness is the day wherein you might have wrought for God, taken from you, and the thick dark night of confusion is come upon you, wherein you are groping and stumbling, and cannot work. The decree is gone out against you, and cannot be recalled.” This is the commencement of his address, and he goes on much in the same strain, laying upon them their unfaithfulness to the cause which they at first espoused, and showing them in plain terms the consequence of their unfaithfulness. A copy in print was delivered to each Member of Parliament before General Monk came to London.

In the year 1660, while he was travelling in the work of the ministry in the county of Essex, his mind was drawn to appoint a meeting at Harwich, at which place the magistrates had manifested a persecuting disposition towards his friends.

On the day appointed for the meeting, which was on the first of the week, the magistrates compelled a boat, which contained about forty persons coming to the meeting from the Suffolk side of the river, to return with its passengers. Two men, servants of Robert Grassingham, a shipwright to the admiralty, whom their master had sent to bring some Friends over the river, were not only prevented from executing their master's direction; but were put into the stocks and continued there for several hours.

Notwithstanding these acts of illiberality and violence, the meeting was held for a considerable time without interruption, and George Fox preached to the people about two hours; but before the meeting was quite finished, a great company of sailors and others came to the house where it was held, and behaved with great rudeness, using very violent and abusive language. His zeal was justly kindled on this occasion, and feeling what he thought sufficient authority, he proclaimed: "Wo, wo, unto the rulers of this nation, who suffer such ungodliness as this, and do not seek to suppress it." This, probably with some addition, was soon reported to the magistrates, who came and ordered their officers to apprehend him in the king's name, Charles the 2d

being then restored. The mayor, without any mittimus, or pointing out any law that had been broken, committed him to prison, where his friend, Robert Grassingham, voluntarily and out of pure love, accompanied him and continued with him.

Before his removal from Harwich, he wrote to King Charles on his restoration. This he entitles, "A noble Salutation and a faithful Greeting unto thee Charles Stuart, who art now proclaimed, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland."

The following paragraph from the conclusion will show the plain dealing which he used towards the king, as well as to those who had hold of the reins of government, before his restoration.

"And now, Oh King! as thou expects the blessing and presence of the Lord with thee, in thy government, fear and dread his presence, by standing in awe of his living witness, the Light which he hath placed in thy conscience, to guide and direct thee in all thy ways, that his wrath may be turned away from thee; that so this Scripture may not be fulfilled upon the people of this nation: God gave them a king in his anger, and took him away in his sore displeasure. But if it should prove so, I shall have peace, for I am clear

of thy blood; inasmuch as in plainness I have let thee see how things have been, and how they may or shall be, and wherein thy danger stands, and how that righteousness only establisheth the throne. And my desire is, if it be the will of God, that thou mightest consider them in the principle of life and wisdom, and thereby come to be saved from that destruction, which, in God's eternal Light, I see thee in great danger of."

The address from which the above extract is made, contains a great variety of matter on various subjects relating to the government. It was dated from Harwich jail, the 16th of the 3d month called May, 1660, and a copy of it in manuscript, was delivered to the king by Richard Hubbertorne, the 4th of the 4th month following; and as many of the subjects treated of in this address might be of use to others, as well as to the king, it was printed for general service.

After they had continued some time in prison at Harwich, a mittimus was sent to the jailer, in which Fox was falsely charged with causing a tumult in that borough, and disturbing the peace thereof. After this step was taken, the busy magistrates informed the parliament of the imprisonment not only of Fox, but also of Grassingham;

and the House ordered them both to be sent to London. The latter had, however, left the prison, and gone to London on his own business, whence he was returning by order of the admiralty board, when the sheriff of the county, who was conducting George Fox, took Grassingham also back to London, where they were delivered to the custody of the serjeant at arms, who committed them to Lambeth House, with orders for them to be strictly watched, in case any of their friends should visit them.

For six weeks they were confined to their chamber, without the usual liberty of walking in the yard. When they had been thus confined about three weeks, they drew up a paper, to be laid before the parliament, and sent it to the speaker, who, however, did not communicate it. It was therefore printed and distributed among the members, but without any effect, it being alleged that the address and contents of the paper rendered it inadmissible. A member of the house, after they had been confined about fourteen weeks, moved the consideration of their case, upon which it appears that an order was immediately given for their liberation.

This order was rendered ineffectual by the cruel avarice of the serjeant at arms, who demanded

fifty pounds for fees, and ten pounds per week for chamber rent. Not complying with this exorbitant demand, their confinement was protracted for a considerable time longer; and it is probable that their liberation was at length directed by the privy council, to whom their case was referred. From the date of some papers, I find George Fox a prisoner in Westminster Palace Yard Gate-house in the 1st month, 1661.* It also appears that he was liberated before the 4th month of that year. His arrest at Harwich was in the 3d month of the preceding year, so that he was kept prisoner about a year, without being brought to any legal trial. So perverted was the administration of justice in those times.

This long confinement was not spent in idleness, but the prisoner employed his pen and, when opportunity offered, his tongue also, in promoting the cause for which he suffered. Among other publications, one was entitled, "His Faith touching four Particulars demonstrated."

1st, Concerning Jesus Christ the Saviour of the World.

* It is possible that this imprisonment in Westminster was not a continuance of the former at Lambeth, and that an interval of liberty took place between the times of his being a prisoner at Lambeth and Westminster.

2d, Concerning Justification.

3d, Concerning the Resurrection.

4th, Concerning everlasting Glory and eternal Misery.

On all these topics he explains the views of himself and his friends at considerable length. On the subject of Justification he expresses himself thus: "I do believe no man can be justified by the works of the law, nor by any work of his own; but he or she that is justified in the sight of God, it is freely by his grace, through faith in Christ Jesus, who creates such unto good works, which God hath ordained, that they that are justified should walk in them."

The following acknowledgment to Divine power and goodness, written about this time, also appears deserving of a place in this Memoir.

"Surely it was thee, Oh Lord! that gave bounds to the sea, that the floods thereof could not overwhelm thy chosen. Thou canst let forth the winds, and suffer a storm; and thou canst make a calm when thou pleasest. Have thou the glory

of all, thou King of Saints ! thou Saviour of Israel ! Thou canst do whatever thou pleasest, therefore will we trust in thy name ; neither will we fear what man can do unto us, because thou wilt not forsake us, but thou wilt plead our cause in the sight of our adversaries, and they shall know that thou art our God, who art able to save to the uttermost.

“ Oh Lord, our righteousness ! we will praise thy name, for thy mercies endure for ever. Our eyes, Oh God ! are unto thee, for we have no other helper. Our faith, Oh Lord ! standeth in thee, who canst not forget thy people. Thou hast redeemed and brought up Jacob, who wrestleth with thee, and prevails as a prince ; therefore must the blessing come. Oh Lord ! the birth, the birth crieth unto thee, thine own elect, which has long been oppressed. Thou canst not deny thyself, therefore have we faith, and hope which maketh not ashamed. Oh Lord ! how unsearchable are thy ways ! Thou hast even amazed thy people with the depth of thy wisdom ; thou only wilt have the glory of their deliverance, and therefore hast thou suffered these things to come to pass. Oh Lord ! thou art righteous in all thy judgments ; only preserve thy people, which thou hast gathered and wilt gather unto thyself, in the day of trial, that so

they may sing of thy power, and magnify thy name in the land of the living.

“GEORGE FOX, the Younger.”

In the 4th month, 1661, it appears that a temporary cessation of persecution had taken place, at which time he wrote to his friends in this manner: “O! that patience might be abode in by all that know his name, and his will submitted unto by them that he hath called. O! be still, strive not, but drink the cup which my Father suffereth to be given: I know it will be bitter to some; but whosoever striveth against it, shall come to loss and shame; for the Lord will yet further try his people, till it be fully and clearly manifest who are approved in his sight. This he will certainly do; therefore let not the present calm beget a wrong security in any; for lo! the day hastens and comes swiftly, that another storm must arise; and in vain will it be to fly to the tall cedars or strong oaks, for shelter, for nothing but the name of the Lord can preserve in that day.”

This prediction was soon fulfilled; for in the succeeding year above one hundred Friends were confined at one time in Newgate, where several died. And a few years afterwards the Conventicle Act was passed, which subjected the Society to perhaps more sufferings than they had previously undergone. But before any of these events took place, this extraordinary man finished his labours and sufferings in and for the Church Militant, dying at the close of this year, 1661, or the beginning of 1662. In his last illness he exhorted his friends to "keep in that unity for which he had long travailed, and to keep their garments unspotted by the world, because great was the day of trial which was then at hand." When he was in great bodily weakness, he lay as a man daily renewing his strength in the Lord, whose living presence so animated his departing spirit to the last, that he said, he would even shout and sing for joy of heart. Thus exultingly did he terminate his existence in this world, and there is good reason to believe is added to the church triumphant in heaven.

A Friend who subscribes himself I. P. and whom I suppose to be Isaac Pennington, speaking of the ministry of this George Fox, describes it in figurative terms: "As thunder to the rocks

and mountains ; and streams of sweet milk, wine, and honey to the blessed living babes of the blessed living God."

Soon after his decease, his writings were collected and published in a small octavo volume, containing about 288 pages.



CHAPTER XI.

LIFE OF RICHARD HUBBERTHORN.



THIS Friend was one of the earliest members of the Society in Lancashire. He lived, and I suppose was born at Yelland in that county. His parents were respectable, and his father a man of landed property. Richard was their only son. He early manifested a religious disposition of mind, and, as was the case with many serious people at that time, entered into the Parliament's army, in which he became an officer; and so great was his godly zeal, that he sometimes preached to his fellow-soldiers. After he was convinced of the principles of Friends, he left his military employment, and became a soldier in the Lamb's warfare, enlisting himself under the banner of Christ Jesus, the Prince of Peace. So early as the year 1652, he went forth in gospel service; and

afterwards suffered much for his religious principles.

In 1653, the mayor of Chester sent him to jail, and detained him there eight days, upon a bare information of his visiting John Lawson, in prison.

In the year 1654, he and George Whitehead travelled into Norfolk, and coming to Norwich, he was concerned to speak to a priest in the graveyard, on which account he was taken before the magistrates. Coming into their presence with his hat on, he was committed to the castle, where he continued a prisoner great part of the succeeding year. His companion, however, had much service in that city, in which a Meeting of Friends was then establised. It is most probable they were the first Friends who visited those parts.

In giving an account of the sufferers in Cambridgeshire in the year 1656, Joseph Besse furnishes a further proof, that "Even christian charity itself, was by some magistrates reputed criminal; and Richard Hubberthorn and Richard Weaver, were sent to jail only for visiting Ann Blakley in prison; and Richard Hubberthorn for not departing the town [probably Cambridge] at the mayor's command, was sent to the house of correction for three months."

The same year we find that Richard Hubberthorn was taken out of a meeting in the county of Lancaster, bound hand and foot, and so carried and laid in the open fields, in a cold winter's night.

The next notice I find of Richard Hubberthorn, is in the year 1660, when he had a long conference with Charles the Second, and some others who were in company with him. In this conversation, Richard explained the Principles of Friends, so much to the king's satisfaction, that he repeatedly promised they should not any way suffer for their religious opinions. But though there is no reason to doubt the king's sincerity at the time, yet he was so easily influenced by others, that he seemed to forget what he had solemnly promised, on the word of a king. The very man to whom this promise was made, was a proof of this weakness in the king's disposition, as will be related in the sequel.

It seems that Richard Hubberthorn continued some time in London; for in the same year that he had this conference with Charles the Second, we find him uniting with George Fox in drawing up a declaration of their abhorrence of plots and warring, in order to present it to the king and council. When it was finished and sent to the

press, it was there seized; but this arbitrary endeavour to deprive them of the opportunity of vindicating themselves and their friends, did not deter these bold asserters of just liberty from prosecuting their commendable design. They quickly drew up another declaration, got it printed, sent some copies to the king and council, and published the rest in their justification, to the nation at large.

In 1661, he, with Edward Burrough and George Whitehead, attended the parliament, to solicit against passing into an act, "A bill for preventing mischief and dangers that may arise, from certain persons called *Quakers*, and others refusing to take lawful oaths."

They attended the committee several times, and were also permitted to give their reasons at the bar of the house; but it seems that prejudice, party animosity, and mistaken zeal, overruled the clearest arguments adduced against it.

In the 4th month, 1662, notwithstanding the promise made to him by the king, he was violently dragged from a meeting in Bull and Mouth Street, and taken before Richard Brown, alderman, who pulled Hubberthorn's hat with so much violence that he brought his head nearly to the

ground. After this rough treatment, he committed him to Newgate, where the prisoners were so numerous, and the accommodation so poor, that he soon grew sick; and within two months his sufferings terminated with his life!

Two days before his decease, some of his friends visited him, and inquiring if there was any thing upon his spirit, he said, that there was no need to dispute matters, for he knew the ground of his salvation, and was satisfied for ever in his peace with the Lord." He also said: "That faith which hath wrought my salvation I well know, and have grounded satisfaction in it." In the morning previous to his decease, he expressed himself thus to one who attended him: "Do not seek to hold me, for it is too strait for me, and out of this straitness I must go; for I am wound into largeness, and am to be lifted up on high, far above all." In the evening of the day he quietly departed this life, and thus sealed his testimony to those religious principles, which he had conscientiously embraced, and zealously promulgated.

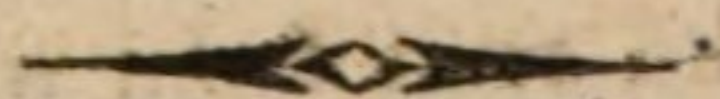
He was a man of low stature, infirm constitution, and a weak voice; but though he did not possess gracefulness of person, he excelled in the more noble faculties of the mind; being of an excellent natural temper, a man of much meekness,

humility, and patience. He was of distinguished equanimity, neither easily depressed in adversity, nor elated in prosperity; clear in judgment and of a quick understanding.

Notwithstanding the weakness of his voice, he was a very able and successful minister of the gospel; and great numbers, in different parts of the nation, were convinced and brought to the same faith and practice which he preached, as seals to the power and efficacy of his gift.

CHAPTER XII.

LIFE OF WILLIAM AMES.



WE have no account of the birth of *William Ames*, or of his native country, except that John Whiting mentions him as being of Somersetshire. In his youth he was of a cheerful temper, and fond of the society of those of similar dispositions; but, in the gay and unguarded indulgencies of this inclination, he was often disquieted in his mind; and, in consequence, became a closer follower of the priests and teachers. He also exercised himself diligently in reading the Holy Scriptures, which, though it is a practice very excellent in itself, was not sufficient to bring him to true peace of mind with the Lord.

Though he was of a quick understanding, and capable of deducing much argument from the Scriptures; yet he appears, for a time, not to have

been favoured with the Key of David, which only can unlock and open that rich treasury, and furnish from those abundant stores, the food convenient for the seeking, hungry soul.

In this unsatisfied condition of mind, he entered into religious communion with the Baptist society, and became a teacher among them. At this period he was more strict and careful of his conduct, and endeavoured to avoid the committing of sins; yet he found that the root from whence they sprung was alive in him; and when he met with any thing contrary to his own will and mind, anger soon prevailed. Few appear to have been more fully and clearly taught the doctrine of the blessed Redeemer of men, when he said: "Without me ye can do nothing."

He could speak of justification, sanctification, and cleansing by the blood of Jesus, but was sensible he had not attained that pure washing; and even perceived that he was no true member of Christ, because he had not experienced regeneration. Thus he learned that a high profession was of no avail, and that something beyond it was essential, to enable him to attain a happy state and condition.

Though the subject of this Memoir was thus clearly sensible of one thing still lacking; and, on

committing sin, felt in himself a swift witness, a monitor that struck him with terror; yet he did not comprehend what it was which in mercy thus disquieted his soul.

In addition to the ministerial office which he had taken upon himself, he likewise engaged as an officer in the army. In this capacity he was of a strict life himself, and kept his soldiers under a severe discipline; and when any of them were guilty of immorality on the first day of the week, he presently had them put under confinement and restraint.

At length, in the year 1655, whilst Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill were at Cork in Ireland, he heard one or both of them preach, declaring that what convinceth man of sin, is the *Light of Christ*, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. This doctrine entered so deeply into his heart, that he embraced it, from firm conviction of its being the Truth; and walking with great circumspection and fear before the Lord, he found, that by diligent attention to that Divine principle which inwardly reproved and condemned him for evil, he came to be delivered from the power of sin, and to witness sanctification.

He entered into the Society of the despised Quakers, and continuing in the way of godliness,

he himself became a zealous preacher of that doctrine which had so deeply penetrated his own heart.

In the year 1657, we find him at Amsterdam, in company with a person of the name of *Humble Thatcher*, who does not appear to have been ever fully in communion with our religious society. It seems, from the circumstance of their being companions, and from William Ames being a man of extraordinary courage and boldness, that they were taken up, on suspicion of having placed a paper on the door of the English meeting-house, in that city; but of this charge William declared himself innocent; and also that he knew not who was the author of the paper. This happened at the time when so many false reports were in print, concerning James Nayler, which probably occasioned the magistrates to be more apprehensive respecting them; and sending for William Ames and his companion to appear before them, they were commanded to depart the town in twenty-four hours.

Persuaded of their own innocence, these courageous and resolute men did not think proper to obey the command. The next day, from a conscientious scruple, not putting off their hats when before the magistrates, they were falsely considered

as not owning the subordination due to rulers; and after being kept in custody for some days, they were at night led through the Regulars gate, and banished out of the town.

William Ames judging that he had committed no evil, returned the next day into the city, and passed the great market-place called the Dam. On this occasion it is said that some of the magistrates saw him and observed: "Lo! there is the Quaker; if we had a mind now to make martyrs, here would be an opportunity for it." But it seems, as there was no proof of their having done any evil, the magistrates deemed it safest to wink at his return.

He staid some time in the city, and the doctrine which he preached found some entrance, even among a few of the collegians. At this time also his ministry proved convincing to Jacob Williamson Sewel, of Utrecht, free citizen and surgeon, resident at Amsterdam, and Judith Zinspenning his wife, who were the parents of William Sewel, the historian of our society, and a lexicographer. These, with two or three more, were the first of our religious persuasion at Amsterdam.

In the preface to William Sewel's History, he mentions William Ames as having had considerable

influence with several collegians when he was first at Amsterdam, who were so fully convinced of the doctrine he preached, that they approved of it; and one of them, Adam Boreels, so early as the year 1662, is supposed by William Sewel, to have written a treatise in Latin, with a title signifying, "The Light upon the Candlestick," which contained the doctrines preached by William Ames, and was so expressed in the title page. This treatise is translated into English, and forms an Appendix to William Sewell's History of our Sociey.

About the year 1659, William Ames went into Germany, and visited the court of the Prince Elector, Charles Lodowick, who treated him kindly even at his own table, and seemed not to take any offence at his hat being kept on, though the lords and others present were uncovered. On one occasion, as Ames was walking next the prince, in his garden, with his hat on, the courtiers inquired of the prince, if they should question Ames for doing so; but this he would not permit them to do.

At another time the prince fixed to have both his chaplain and William Ames to dine with him, with a view, it seems, that William, whom he knew to be a bold man, might find occasion to reprove

the chaplain. For this purpose, when they were at dinner, the prince suffered his jester to come in, and on playing his tricks the chaplain was silent. William Ames took occasion from this circumstance to reprove such vain actions; but chiefly aimed his remarks at the chaplain, whom, for his silence at the lewd remarks of the jester, he censured in very plain terms; which, however, appeared to afford satisfaction to the prince. This fact marks the uprightness, boldness, and firm integrity of the character of William Ames.

At Kriesheim, a town in the Palatinate, not far from Worms, he found such entrance among the Baptists, that some families not only received the doctrine he preached, but bore public testimony for it there, till the settlement of Pennsylvania, when they unanimously went to that province, and thus providentially escaped the distresses which were occasioned by the war not long after; in which the Palatinate was laid waste by the French, and thousands were bereaved of their possessions and reduced to poverty.

The conviction which attended the ministry of William Ames, in the hearts of some persons in the Palatinate, occasioned a fine to be settled on those who gave him entertainment; but the Prince Elector being informed of it, not only took off

the fine, but ordered some of the Consistory, who had sent for William, to desist from molesting him. The Prince's sister also behaved very kindly towards William Ames, and received his exhortations favourably.

The next year he went again into the Palatinate, with John Higgins, and visited the Prince Elector; he also sent a letter to the Prince, with a book written by George Fox, of which John Higgins appears to have been the bearer. From the Captain of the Prince's Guard, they understood that he was glad of William Ames's return; and the Prince himself desired John Higgins to thank William Ames for the letter and book; and added, that he took their visit to him and his family very kindly, and believed that what they spoke, was in love to their souls.

William Ames also went to Hamburgh, Bohemia, and Dantzick, and from the latter into Poland; but it is not certain in what year. At Hamburgh and Dantzick he met with some who received the doctrine he preached; but in Poland the people were too rude and haughty for him to make an impression on their minds.

In the forepart of the year 1659, he went also to Rotterdam, where he and one Martin

Martinson, who had been convinced by him, were imprisoned in the Bedlam there, for having a meeting at Martinson's house. The latter lived at Moordecht, a village near Gouda, and was in the practice of holding a meeting sometimes in his own house, with some of his sober-minded neighbours, which caused a great commotion in the town; and after a meeting held there, at which William Ames was present, they experienced much rude treatment. In consequence of this, they had some conversation with a preacher, who charged William Ames with being a wolf and deceiver. William was desirous of having an opportunity of clearing himself, and by means of Martin Martinson got a time fixed for the priest to undertake the proof of his assertion; but instead of doing so, he had recourse to a less troublesome expedient, and procured civil officers, who took them both into custody.

After being confined a little more than three weeks in Bedlam, the under governor indirectly expressed a wish that they would escape; saying that he should not hinder them. William Ames, not choosing to be reputed one who broke prison, concluded the conversation with saying: "Well, I intend to go out to-morrow." The next day they were suffered to go out, and William went

with the deputy before the dikegrave, not choosing to leave the town without seeing him. The dikegrave behaved moderately; but not judging it eligible for them to be released, expressed a desire for them to return to the prison, with which they complied, and were detained some time longer, before they were set at liberty: William then proceeded on his journey in Germany, and thence returned to his native country; but after some time he went again to Holland, probably with an intention of settling there.

In 1662, he was taken from a Friends house in London, with Samuel Fisher and three others, and suffered a severe imprisonment in Bridewell; but his health not being equal to endure such severity, he was released, lest he should die there. Such was the rage of persecution at that time, that not only public meetings were interrupted, but private houses were broken into, and friendly visits were construed into meetings contrary to law.

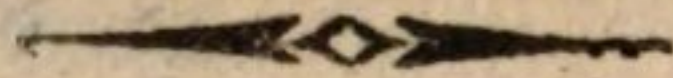
His settled abode at this time was at Amsterdam, to which place, after his release, he returned, with his health much impaired; and he did not very long survive the effects of the severity he endured in Bridewell. In the course of his sick-

ness, which was lingering, he was informed, that, among the Baptists and Collegians, it was reported, he had changed his sentiments, and was grieved for having judged him wrongfully. This he denied; and said that he still judged their way of worship, especially their disputations and will-worship, to be out of the way of the Lord. In this belief he continued, and died in peace. This was in the latter part of the year 1662.

William Sewel thus concludes his account of this bold advocate, of the Light of Christ in the Heart. "He was indeed a zealous man, and though some were ready to think he was too zealous, yet he was discreet; and I know that he was condescending in indifferent matters, thinking that there were customs, which though not followed in one country, were yet tolerable in another. He was also generous; and lest he might seem burthensome to any, he rather chose to work with his own hands." He did this, at wool-combing, during his last imprisonment in London.

He published several small works, which are enumerated in John Whiting's catalogue of Friends' Books. In this list appears to be included "The Light upon the Candlestick," already noticed in

this Memoir; and from his name being in the title-page, John Whiting might suppose he was the author of it.

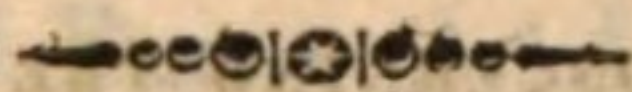


William Sewel thus concludes his account of this bold advocate of the light of Christ in the Heart: "He was indeed a zealous man, and though some were ready to think he was too zealous, yet he was discreet; and I know that he was condescending in indifferent matters, thinking that there were customs, which though not beloved in one country, were yet tolerable in another. He was also generous; and last he might seem painstaking to any, who rather chose to work with his own hands." He did this at wool-combing during his last imprisonment in London.

He published several small works, which are enumerated in John Whiting's catalogue of Friends' Books. In this list appears to be included "The Fight upon the Canonistick," already noticed in

CHAPTER XIII.

LIFE OF EDWARD BURROUGH.



IN the course of reading which is necessary, previous to writing my Biographical Notices, I perused the Testimony of Francis Howgill concerning the subject of this Memoir, and was so struck with the excellency of the matter, and the sublimity of the expression, that I thought it deserved reprinting by itself. Hence it became a subject of consideration, whether I could do better than present my readers with this production. It is something above the style of sober history, yet the delineation is so strong, and the colouring, though high, there is reason to believe, so just, that I apprehend no one who is acquainted with the character of Edward Burrough, will think that this picture of him is overcharged. As it also contains much biographical information, I have concluded to give my account in the words

of this intimate friend and fellow-labourer in the Gospel of Christ. It may be proper to apprise the reader, that the first part of this Testimony, as it is called, contains an affecting lamentation or elegical eulogy over his departed friend.



FRANCIS HOWGILL'S TESTIMONY

CONCERNING THE

Life, Death, Trials, Travels, and Labours,

OF

EDWARD BURROUGH,

That Worthy Prophet of the LORD.

“SHALL days, or months, or years, wear out thy name as though thou hadst no being? Oh nay! Shall not thy noble and valiant acts, and mighty works, which thou hast wrought, through the power of Him that gave thee being, live in generations to come? Oh yes! The children that are yet unborn shall have thee in their mouths, and thy works shall testify of thee in generations who yet have not a being, and shall count thee blessed. Did thy life go out as the snuff of a candle? Oh nay! thou hast penetrated the hearts of many;

and the memorial of the just shall live for ever, and be had in renown among the children of wisdom for ever: for thou hast turned many to righteousness, and shall shine as a star of God in the firmament of God's power for ever and ever; and they that are in that, shall see thee there, and enjoy thee there, though thou be gone away hence, and can no more be seen in mutability; yet thy life and thy spirit shall run parallel with immortality.

“ Oh! Edward Burrough! I cannot but mourn for thee; yet not as one without hope or faith; knowing and having a perfect testimony of thy well-being, in my heart, by the Spirit of the Lord; yet thy absence is great, and years to come shall know the want of thee. Shall I not lament as *David* did for a worse man than thee; even for *Abner*, when in wrath he perished by the hand of *Joab*, without any just cause, though he was a valiant man. “ *David lamented over Abner and said: Died Abner as a fool dieth?* Oh nay! he was betrayed of his life. Even so hast thou been bereaved of thy life, by the hand of the oppressors, whose habitations are full of cruelty. Oh my soul! come not thou within their secret; for thy blood shall be required at the hands of them who thirsted after thy life; and it shall cry as *Abel's* who was in the faith; even so wert thou. It shall weigh as a ponderous millstone upon their necks,

and shall crush them under, and be as a worm that gnaweth and shall not die.

“ When I think upon thee, I am melted into tears of true sorrow, and because of the want that the inheritance of the Lord hath of thee, my substance is even as dissolved. Shall I not say as David said of Saul and Jonathan when they were slain in Mount Gilboa: ‘ The beauty of Israel is slain upon the high places;’ even so wast thou stifled in nasty holes and prisons, and many more who were precious in the eyes of the Lord; and surely precious wast thou to me, Oh dear Edward! *‘ I am distressed for thee, my brother; very pleasant hast thou been to me, and my love to thee was wonderful, passing the love of women. Oh thou whose bow never turned back, neither sword empty from the blood of the slain, from the slaughter of the mighty;’* who made nations and multitudes shake with the word of life in thy mouth; and wast very dreadful to the enemies of the Lord; for thou didst cut like a razor; and yet to the seed of God brought forth, thy words dropt like oil, and thy lips as the honey-comb.

“ Thou shalt be recorded among the valiants of Israel, who attained to the first degree, through the power of the Lord, that wrought mightily in thee in thy day, and wast worthy of double honour,

because of thy work's sake. Thou wast expert to handle thy weapon, and by thee the mighty have fallen, and the slain of the Lord have been many; many have been pricked to the heart, through the power of the Word of Life; and coals of fire from thy life, came forth of thy mouth, that in many a thicket, and among many briars and thorns, it came to be kindled; and did devour much stubble that cumbered the ground and stained the earth. Oh, how certain a sound did thy trumpet give! And how great an alarum didst thou give in thy day, that made the host of the uncircumcised greatly distressed!

“What man so valiant, though as Goliath of Gath, would not thy valour have encountered with, while many despised thy youth! And how have I seen thee with thy sling and thy stone (despised weapons as to war with,) wound the mighty! and that which hath seemed contemptible to the Dragon's party, even as the jaw-bone of an ass, with it thou hast slain the Philistines, heaps upon heaps, as Sampson. Thou hast put thy hand to the hammer of the Lord, and hast often fastened nails in the heads of the Lamb's enemies; as Deborah* did to Sisera; and many a rough stone hast thou polished and squared, and made it fit

* Deborah may have been designedly used in a figurative sense for JAEL, to whom the passage alludes.

for the building of God; and much knotty wood hast thou hewed in thy day, which was not fit for the building of God's house; oh thou prophet of the Lord! and [thou] shalt for ever be recorded in the Lamb's book of life, among the Lord's worthies, who have followed the Lamb through great tribulations, as many can witness for thee, from the beginning; and at last hath overcome and [hath been] found worthy to stand with the Lamb upon Mount Sion, the hill of God, as I have often seen thee; and thy heart well tuned as a harp to praise the Lord, and to sound forth his great salvation, which, many a time, hath made glad the hearts of them that did believe, and strengthened their faith and hope.

“ Well, thou art at rest, and bound up in the bundle of life; and I know tears were wiped away from thy eyes, because there was no cause of sorrow in thee; for I know thou witnessed the old things done away; and there was no curse; but blessings were poured upon thy head as rain, and peace as a mighty shower; and trouble was far from thy dwelling, though in the outward man trouble on every side; and [thou] hast had a greater share in that for the gospel's sake, though a youth, in thy time, than many besides; but now thou art freed from that, and hast obtained a name through faith with the saints in light.

“ Well, hadst thou more to give up than thy life for the name of Jesus in this world? Nay, and to seal thy testimony committed unto thee with thy blood, as thou hast often said in thy day, which shall remain as a crown upon thee for ever and ever. And now thou art freed from the temptations of him who had the power of death; and art freed from thy outward enemies, who hated thee because of the life that dwelt in thee, and remainest at the right hand of God, where there is joy and pleasure for evermore in the everlasting light, which thou hast often testified unto, according to the word of prophecy in thy heart, which was given unto thee by the Holy Ghost; and art at rest in the perfection thereof, in the beauty of holiness; yet thy life and thy spirit I feel as present, and have unity with it and in it, beyond all created and visible things which are subject to mutation and change. And thy life shall enter into others, to testify unto the same truth, which is from everlasting to everlasting; for God hath raised, and shall raise up children unto Abraham, of them that have been as dead stones, whose power is Almighty, great in his people, in the midst of their enemies.

“ This same Edward Burrough was born in the barony of Kendal, in the county of Westmoreland, of honest parents, who had a good report.

among their neighbours, for upright and honest dealing among men; who brought up Edward in his youth, in learning and good education as the country doth afford. He was a very understanding boy in his youth; and his knowledge and understanding did far exceed his years. He had the spirit of a man when he was but a child; and I may say grey hairs were upon him when he was but a youth, for he was clothed with wisdom in his infancy; for I had perfect knowledge of him from a youth. He was inclinable from his youth upwards to religion, and the best way, always minding the best things, and the best and nearest way of worship to the Scriptures of truth; and always did accompany the best men, who walked in godliness and honesty; insomuch I have often admired his discreet carriage, and his great understanding of the things of God. He was never known to be addicted to any vice, or malignity, or bad behaviour, neither followed any evil course of life from his childhood; but feared the Lord and walked uprightly, according to the light and knowledge received in all things.

“ In his natural disposition, he was bold and manly, dexterous and fervent; and what he took in hand, he did it with his might; loving, kind, and courteous, merciful and flexible, and easy to be entreated. His whole delight was always

among good people, and to be conferring and reading the Scriptures, and little to mind any sports or pastimes which there is an incidency unto in youth; but his very strength was bended after God; and [he] was separated, I may say, from his birth, and fitting for the work's sake, whereunto he after was called.

“And when it pleased the Lord to raise up unto us the ancient horn of salvation, among us who were reckoned in the North part of England, even as the outcasts of Israel, and as men destitute of the great knowledge which some seemed to enjoy; yet there was more sincerity and true love amongst us, and desires after the living, powerful, presence of God, than was among many in that day who seemed to make a great flourish; who ran into heaps and forms, but left the cross behind them, and indeed were strangers to it. God out of his everlasting love did appear to us, according to the desire of our hearts, who longed after Him. When we had turned aside from hireling-shepherds tents, we found him whom our souls loved; and God out of his great love and great mercy sent one unto us, immediately, by his power, a man of God, one of ten thousand, to instruct us in the way of God more perfectly; who laid down the sure foundation, and declared the acceptable year of the Lord; who indeed made the mourners to

rejoice, and the heavy-hearted glad ; which yet was terrible to all hypocrites and all formal profession ; which testimony reached unto all our consciences, and entered into the inmost part of our hearts ; which drove us to a narrow search, and to a diligent inquisition concerning our state, which we came to see, through the light of Christ Jesus, which was testified of ; and found it to be even what it was testified of.

“ And the Lord of heaven and earth, we found to be near at hand ; and as we waited upon Him in pure silence, our minds out of all things, his dreadful power, and glorious majesty, and heavenly presence, appeared in our assemblies ; when there was no language, tongue, nor speech from any creature ; and the kingdom of heaven did gather us, and catch us all as in a net ; and his heavenly power at one time drew many hundreds to land ; that we came to know a place to stand in, and what to wait in ; and the Lord appeared daily to us, to our astonishment, amazement, and great admiration ; insomuch that we often said one unto another, with great joy of heart : *What ! is the kingdom of God come to be with men ? And will he take up his tabernacle among the sons of men as he did of old ? And what ! shall we that were reckoned as the outcasts of Israel, have this honour of glory communicated amongst us, which were but*

men of small parts, and of little abilities, in respect of many others, as amongst men? Howbeit, this it seemed good unto the Lord, to choose the weak things, and the foolish things of this world, as to the aspect of men, that no flesh might glory; that no man, because of his parts, might glory, or because of his strength or wisdom might glory; but that the glory which is His, might be given only to Him; unto whom be the glory of all his works for ever and ever. AMEN.

“ And from that day forward, our hearts were knit unto the Lord, and one unto another, in true and fervent love; not by any external covenant, or external form; but we entered into the covenant of life with God; and that was as a strong obligation or bond upon all our spirits, which united us one unto another; and we met together in the unity of the spirit, and of the bond of peace; treading down under our feet, all reasoning, questioning, debating, and contending about religion; or any part or parts, or practice or practices thereof, as to any external thing. And we waited at time and times, as God did grant us opportunities; and the more we had and could obtain from our necessary occasions of this present life, the better we were, and the more we were confirmed and strengthened in our hope and faith; and holy resolutions were kindled in our hearts, as

a fire which the life kindled in us, to serve the Lord while we had a being, and to make mention of his name and power whilst we did live; and to hold forth that testimony which was committed to us, in the sight of men and nations, by doctrines, by practice, by a holy conversation. And mightily did the word of God grow amongst us, and the desires of many were after the name of the Lord. Oh happy day! Oh blessed day! the memorial of which can never pass out of my mind. And thus the Lord, in short, did form us to be a people for his praise in our generation.

“Howbeit after all this and much more, which time would fail me to write of, (neither is the purpose of my spirit bent that way at this time,) we did come through very great tribulations, extreme distresses, great perplexity; and passed out oftentimes hungry and hard put to it, both within and without; yet such was our love to the Lord, and such fervency in our hearts, that we rather chose to die, and to undergo every difficulty, than to dishonour or deny the name of Christ, in the midst of suffering; because of that taste that we had of his goodness and immortal life, revealed in our hearts. This young man of whom I am speaking, had his share, though but a youth of 16 or 17 years of age. Because of the truth which crossed all the world's ways, his nearest relations, even his

own parents, cast him off as an alien, and turned him out from their house, as not to have any part or portion therein, as a son; nay not so much as a hired servant, which this young man bore very patiently, without murmuring or complaining, having a taste of that, then, which was better than all the world; and through conversing with his people, and amongst them, the Spirit of the Lord came upon him, and the spirit of wisdom and understanding entered into his heart; and the spirit of knowledge and sound judgment came to be seated in his reins; and the spirit of prophecy came upon him, like as it did upon many more through the Holy Ghost's power and operation; and he spake of the wonderful things of God among them that believed, and was one of the first among us, which the Lord opened the mouth of, to show forth his praise, and to speak of the things of his kingdom to as many as he met with, who waited for the consolation of Israel, for the riches of the Gentiles, and to as many as desired and hoped after eternal life.

“ At last the Lord singled him out, and commanded him to go forth into countries unknown to him; as he did some more besides; upon whom he laid a necessity to preach the gospel freely, without money, without price, without tithes, augmentations, gifts, or rewards; and in that he was as

faithful a man, none exceeding him in his generation; for those things were an abhorrency to his heart; and where he met with any such hireling shepherds and deceitful workers, which had gulled the nations, and cheated the people for dishonest gain, and kept them in blindness, the indignation of the Lord, was kindled in his heart, and the sword of the Lord was very sharp in his hand; and whomsoever he met with that walked after this sort, they were sure to feel the weight of his weapon, and the force of his blow, by which many have been deeply wounded, and have gnashed their teeth on him, greedy of their gain, because of their present wound and blow that he did give them; and though he was but young in years, yet he was full of fortitude and true valour. The Lord oftentimes, when he exercised him in such war as this, hath filled his quiver full of polished shafts, and made his bow to abide in strength; and he was as dexterous and as ready handed, as any that I knew in his day, against the dragon and his power, against the beast and his followers; and indeed he was even handed, and had a special good arm, and seldom missed the mark. God had filled his mouth with arguments, so that he hath often made a breach in the face of a host.

“And it was my lot, which I cannot but say fell in a good ground, to be his companion and fellow-

labourer, in the work of the gospel, whereunto we were called, for many years together. And oh! when I consider, my heart is broken! how sweetly we walked together for many months and years! in which we had perfect knowledge of one another's hearts, and perfect union of spirit; not so much as one cross word, or one hard thought of discontent ever arose, I believe, in either of our hearts, for ten years together; but our souls were bound up in unity and peace, having the frame of our hearts bent after one and the self same thing; to wit, the propagation of that truth, by which liberty was obtained, and salvation received through Jesus Christ, the true light of the world.

“ Seeing through his light, the whole world to lie in wickedness, a necessity lay upon this person of whom I am speaking, being constrained by the Spirit of the Lord, by which he was made an able minister of the everlasting gospel, to preach repentance, conversion, salvation, and remission of sins; and accordingly he went forth, in the name and power of the Lord Jesus, the Saviour of mankind, and was an able minister of the glad tidings of salvation, in many or most parts of this land; and also he travelled through again and again, the whole nation of Ireland; and in some part of Scotland, and some part of Flanders; and his ministry was made effectual, through the Almighty power

of God, in turning many from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God. There are many thousands who are living in the body, and alive in the truth, who can, in the Spirit of the Lord, bear testimony to the power and verity of his ministry, in many countries where he travelled; for he laboured much in divers places, even in the heat of the day; though he began early in the morning. And in the beginning of his travels and labours, it was his share to break up rough places, and untilled ground, and to walk amongst many briars and thorns, which scratched, and pricked, and teared; and travelled with some other not without great opposition; and he often trod the paths and ways which had not been occupied in the truth; and where darkness had the dominion, and was as a covering, he brake through as an armed man; not minding the opposition, but the victory and the good of all souls; though to my knowledge his sufferings and trials have not been small, nor his exercise little, on the right hand and on the left; in travel often; oftentimes buffeted: sometimes knocked down by unreasonable men, who had not faith; loaded with lies, slanders, calumnies, and reproaches; often in weakness; yea in deaths often; in watching, fastings, and temptations often; in straits and necessities; in perils among rude multitudes; in perils in idol temples; in perils in streets and markets, where the Lord did move him

often to go in the beginning of his time; besides the exceeding weight of service, from week's end to week's end; insomuch that he had seldom many hours of repose; and often suffered by those spirits, who lost their first love, and rose in opposition.

“ He was very diligent and faithful, true hearted and valiant; and the yoke at last, came to be easy unto him, though no ease at all in the body, as to the outward man; for he made the work of the Lord his whole business, without taking so much liberty unto himself, or about any outward occasion in this world, as to spend one week to himself, to my knowledge, these ten years. He had ventured himself often for the body's sake; and a great care, I know, was in his heart, that those that he had ministered unto, and others that had believed the same truth, might thrive and prosper, and might walk as becometh the gospel of Jesus Christ.

“ He was of a manly spirit in the things of God; he hath engaged himself often upon the Lord's account singly, in great disputes, when there were many opposers; he hath stood in the door, and in the gap, against all his enemies, for the worthy name of God, and taken the whole weight of things upon his own shoulder, that others might be eased; though often to the weakening, and

almost destroying of the outward man; yet doing all in love to the Lord, and for his people's sake, he did it with cheerfulness; and it was a grief to him if any opportunity was missed of doing good. He was a man of no great learning in natural tongues, which men so much applaud; yet, indeed his heart was full of matter, and his tongue was as the hand of a ready scribe; and yet he had the tongue of the learned, having had experiment of the work of the Lord; and being acquainted with many conditions, which God had carried him through, he could speak a word in season, unto all who declared their conditions unto him, or otherways in his public ministry. He was very plausible and elegant in his speech, and indeed had the tongue of a learned orator, to declare himself to the understandings and consciences of all men with whom he conversed, by which many received great profit, and their understandings came to be opened; for his words ministered grace to the hearers, and his words were forcible and very pleasant; as apples of gold in pictures of silver.

“This young man of whom I am speaking, was one of the first, with some others, who came to the city of London, where he met with no small opposition, from professors of divers forms, and also profane, who heeded no religion at all;

and the way of truth seemed contemptible, and without form or comeliness to them all, which made the opposition so great, and the labour so hard; yet notwithstanding, it pleased the Lord to reach unto the consciences of many, and many were pricked to the heart, so that they cried out: *What shall we do to be saved?* And God made his ministry very effectual to the conversion of many in the city of London, whereby a great change was wrought in the hearts of many; and many hundreds [were] brought to know the Lord their teacher; which are as seals unto the word of life, through him, unto this day. And many hundreds, I may say thousands, heard the lively word of God declared by him, and were convinced of the way of truth, though still remaining in the disobedience to that of God in their own hearts, unto which he declared; and many have lost their day, which they had of hearing and receiving the things of God; for now he is taken away which might have been a help unto them while they had time; and all such are not worthy of him.

“He continued in this city very much at time and times, betwixt eight and nine years together; preaching the word of God, and speaking of the things of his kingdom to all that looked after it; and great watching, travail, and exercise in the work of the Lord; and his earnest desire was, that

all might have come to know God's salvation, and the redemption of their souls; and his great diligence was known unto many, that his only rejoicing was in the prosperity of the work of the Lord, and the increase of faith amongst them that did believe.

“ And his heart was much drawn towards this city, and oftentimes hath he said to me, when sufferings did come for the gospel's sake, which he knew would come: *I can freely go to that city and lay down my life for a testimony of that truth which I have declared, through the power and Spirit of God; which in the end indeed came to be his share; and will for ever be his crown, who loved not his life unto death, for the testimony of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

“ And in the same year 1662, being pressed in his spirit to go visit them who were begotten unto the faith of God's elect, at the city of Bristol, and in divers other counties; at divers meetings and divers particular friends, he took his leave of them, saying to very many, that he did not know he should see their faces any more; exhorting them all to faithfulness and steadfastness in that wherein they had found rest for their souls; and said to some: *I am going up to the city of London again, to lay down my LIFE for the GOSPEL, and suffer amongst Friends in that place; as having some sense of his suffering before.*

“ And a little after his return to the city, at a public meeting which the people of the Lord have kept these many years, to hear and speak of the things of God to edification, at the Bull and Mouth near Aldersgate, by certain soldiers under the command of Richard Brown, then general of the city of London, he was violently plucked down, and haled away in a barbarous manner and carried to the guard, and so committed to Newgate; not for evil doing, but for testifying unto the name of the Lord Jesus, and for the worship of God; as though this were become a great crime worthy of bonds, and at last death.

“ He was had to the sessions in the Old Bailey; and his accusers were witnesses against him, and them that had abused him violently; their testimony was received as good proof against him; and at last, after two or three sessions, he was fined by the court one hundred marks, which at last was reduced to twenty marks, and to lie in prison while payment; where he continued a pretty long season, about eight months, with six or seven score prisoners besides, upon the same account; many being shut up among the felons, in nasty places; and for want of prison room, the natures of many were suffocated and corrupted; till at last many grew weak, sickened, and died.

“ At last this same young man grew weak, and though a special order from the king was sent to the then sheriffs of London for the release of him, and the rest that were left in prison, yet such was the enmity of some of the rulers of the city, that they did what in them lay, to obstruct the execution of the order, that he should not be released. And so weakness grew upon him daily, though in much patience he was carried through all. In the time of his weakness he was very fervent in prayer, and that often both day and night, unto the Lord as concerning himself, and also his people; and at several times he spoke several precious words, from the sensible feeling of God's Spirit in his heart; and said: *I have had the testimony of the Lord's love unto me from my youth, and my heart hath been given up to do thy will.* And he said: *I have preached the gospel freely in this city, and have often given up my life for the gospel's sake; and now, Lord, rip open my heart, and see if it be not right before thee.*

“ Another time he said, when he had a little ease: *There is no iniquity lies at my door; but the presence of the Lord is with me, and his life I feel justify me.* Another day afterwards he said: *Thou hast loved me when I was yet unborn, and I have loved thee from my cradle and from my youth unto this day, and have served thee faithfully in my genera-*

tion. And he spoke to friends that were about him, *To live in love and peace, and love one another.* And at another time he said: *The Lord taketh the righteous from the evil to come.* And he prayed for his enemies and for his persecutors, and said: *Lord forgive Richard Brown; if he may be forgiven.*

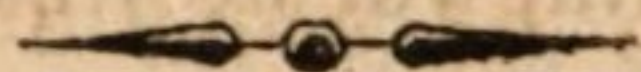
“ And though the distemper and the disease was violently upon him, yet he was preserved sensible. And in the morning before he departed this life, being sensible of his death, he said: *Now my soul and spirit is centred into its own being with God; and this form of person must return from whence it was taken.* And after a little season he gave up the ghost, and died a prisoner, and shall be recorded and is in the Lamb's book of life, as a martyr for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus, for which only he suffered and gave up his life, whose death was precious in the eyes of the Lord. But now he ever liveth with God, and his works follow him, and his labours shall testify of him in generations to come; and thousands besides myself can bear witness his life and death was to the praise, honour, and glory of the grace of God, unto whom be the glory of all his works for ever. AMEN.

“ By one who hath chosen rather to suffer with the people of God called Quakers, than to enjoy

the pleasures of sin for a season ; or to be reckoned as a prince amongst the uncircumcised.

“ FRANCIS HOWGILL.”

Reading, the 22d of
the 12th Month,
1662. }



The death of Edward Burrough was lamented by many others, who expressed in various testimonials, their value for him while living, and their sorrow on account of his death ; which seems to have been universally felt by his surviving friends.

It appears from the account of Francis Howgill, and from some of his own expressions when near the close of life, that he was religiously inclined from early childhood : but though this was the case, we find from his own pen, in one of his early publications, that he was by no means exempt from the evil propensities of human nature. Speaking of himself before he was twelve years of age, he says : “ I was wanton and light, and lived in pleasure, without the fear of God ; not knowing God, but by hearsay and tradition.”

About this time he grew more serious, and followed the Presbyterian and other zealous preachers of that day. When he was about seventeen years of age, his mind became more inwardly directed, and he "much separated from the vain ways of the world, and from vain worldly people." He was frequently induced to reprove others for their wicked words and actions; but notwithstanding all this, he found many evil inclinations and passions remain alive, by which his tender mind was at times much exercised; though he was disposed to indulge himself in a kind of carnal security, from the dangerous opinion, that whom God loves once he loves for ever.

It was about his seventeenth year, that "it pleased the Lord to send his true and faithful servant and messenger, George Fox;" who spoke so closely to his state, and opened the situation of his mind so clearly to him, that, after some time he united himself to the Society which was then newly formed, under the name of Quakers; among whom he became an able and powerful minister, as is already related. Finding this account of himself, previous to this time, it appeared proper to give the substance of it in addition to that of Francis Howgill.

In his first visit to London, the following extraordinary circumstance is related by Sewel,

which I give in his own words. "At London there is a custom in summer time, when the evening approaches, and tradesmen leave off working, that many lusty fellows meet in the fields to try their skill and strength in wrestling, where generally a multitude of people stand gazing in a round. Now it so fell out that Edward Burrough passed by the place where they were wrestling, and standing still among the spectators, saw how a strong and dexterous fellow had already thrown three others, and was waiting for a fourth champion, if any durst venture to enter the lists. At length, none being bold enough to try, Edward Burrough stept into the ring, and having looked upon the wrestler with a serious countenance, the man was not a little surprized, instead of an airy antagonist, to meet with a grave and awful young man, and all stood, as it were, amazed at this sight, eagerly expecting what would be the issue of this combat. But it was quite another fight Edward Burrough aimed at; for having already fought against spiritual wickedness, that had once prevailed on him, and having overcome in measure, by the grace of God, he now endeavoured to fight also against it in others, and to turn them from the evil of their ways. With this intention he began very seriously to speak to the standers by, and that with such a heart-piercing power, that he was heard by this mixed multitude with no less attention than ad-

amiration; for his speech tended to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God. To effect this he laboured with convincing words, showing how God had not left himself without a witness, but had given to man a measure of his grace, and enlightened every one with the light of Christ. Thus he preached zealously; and though many might look upon this as a novelty, yet it was of such effect that some were convinced of the Truth; for he was a breaker of stony hearts, and therefore, by a certain author, not unjustly called a Son of Thunder; though he omitted not, in due season, to speak a word of consolation to those that were of a broken heart and of a contrite spirit."

Edward Burrough appears to have devoted his life wholly to the service of religion. Though scarcely twenty-eight years of age when he died, besides employing his time in travelling and preaching, he wrote and published so much, as, when collected after his death, formed a close printed folio volume of 896 pages. Many of his writings are controversial; and among his opponents, or rather those whom he opposes, are the famous John Bunyan and Richard Baxter. These good men, for so I am disposed to call them, had grossly misrepresented the Quakers; and Burrough replies to them, not only with disproving

their statements and confuting their arguments, but also with many personal reflections, which charity leads me to apprehend they might not deserve. But it is lamentable to see how violently many good men, particularly in those times, were opposed to each other; yet it has afforded me some pleasure to observe, in looking through the writings of Edward Burrough and some others whose lives I have noticed, that their *early* writings were much more tinctured with violence, and an excess of zeal, than those published in the latter part of their lives. Richard Baxter, already mentioned, in this period of his life, published a Review of his Religious Opinions and Controversies, in which he shows an abatement of that violent zeal which he had entertained in early life, and he seems to allude to his controversies with Friends, when he expresses himself thus: "I am now much more apprehensive of the necessity of well grounding men in their religion, and especially of the witness of the indwelling Spirit; for I more sensibly perceive that the Spirit is the great witness of Christ in the world. And though the folly of fanatics tempted me long to overlook the strength of this testimony of the Spirit, while they placed it in a certain internal assertion or enthusiastic inspiration; yet I now see that the Holy Ghost, in another manner, is the witness of Christ, and his agent in the world."

Thus did Baxter approximate to the peculiar doctrine of Friends, though he appears still unwilling to admit their view of it to be right. It is however pleasant to see how the mind of this great Controversialist softened down, in the decline of life and in the increase of religious experience; and how much he was disposed to look more at the essentials of religion, in which christians generally are agreed, than at those lesser points on which they usually differ.

Edward Burrough was remarkable for his addresses to the ruling powers of his time, of whose proneness to persecution, and the evil consequences resulting from it, he faithfully warned them. Many of his expressions may be considered as predicting the downfall of the government which supported it; and indeed his views of civil and religious liberty, with that christian subjection which we owe to the government under which we live, are stated by him, in clear and strong language, in several of his publications.

The following paragraph from a publication, entitled, "The Case of the People called Quakers stated and published to the World," will show the uprightness and zeal of our early Friends, and the resolution with which they were prepared, to bear the sufferings imposed by their persecu-

tors: "As for our conversations amongst men, in respect of our daily walking and converse with them in our dealing, in respect of honesty, and faithfulness, and truth, and justness in works and words, our neighbours shall give witness for us. We will not justify ourselves, 'tis God that justifies us; and the law of God, gospel of Christ, scriptures, examples of holy men, our neighbours, and the witness of God in all men's consciences, shall bear witness to us. And, O Lord God everlasting! do thou judge our cause; do thou make it manifest, in thy due season, to all the world, that we are thy people; that we love thee above all; that we fear thy name more than all; that we love righteousness and hate iniquity; and that we now suffer for thy holy name and truth, and for thy honour and justice, and for thy truth and holiness. Oh Lord! Thou knowest that we are ready to perish, rather than to lose one grain thereof. Amen. Amen."

As an author, Edward Burrough was strong, and at times sublime in his language; his arguments are in general clear and convincing, and to his friends, his feeling heart often poured forth the salutations of brotherly love, judicious counsel, and affectionate sympathy. As a specimen of his writing, I shall give the following epistle, and with it shall finish this account of him; only adding

that he was one who justified the observation of an apocryphal writer, that “Honourable age is not that which standeth in length of time, nor that is measured by number of years; but wisdom is the grey hairs unto men, and an unspotted life is old age.”



To the Friends of Truth, in and about London.

Dearly and well-beloved in Christ our life and glory, the Spirit of the Lord is upon me, and at this time quickeneth my heart into the lively remembrance of you all; herewith sending the hearty and fervent salutation of my dear and perfect love, unto all the faithful amongst you; for the Father's love filleth my heart, and hath raised up my spirit into an holy frame and temper of gladness and rejoicing, of great joy and comfort, in the remembrance and feeling sense of what the Lord hath wrought and made manifest among his people; and the fulness of his love and rejoicing floweth out, in praising and magnifying the Lord our God for evermore.

Oh what hath the Lord wrought for us in our day! How hath his outstretched arm been made

bare again and again, for our salvation and deliverance ! How many have his mercies been, and how numberless have his loving kindnesses been showed to us ! How hath his power and wisdom been discovered amongst his people ! by which we are quickened and revived into the life of righteousness and peace, to be servants and heirs of the Everlasting Father, the Lord of Heaven and Earth ; being called by him out of darkness into his marvellous light ! And how glorious is the light that hath appeared upon our tabernacle, and shined in our hearts ; and that hath led us in the way of peace, and taught us in the path of righteousness ! Thus and much more hath the hand of the Lord wrought for us ; having raised us up to be a people, that in times past were not a people ; but now he hath formed us for himself, and created us for his praise ; having gathered us as a shepherd doth his flock, from our strayed estate, in which we were strangers and afar off ; inhabiting in death and darkness, but now raised up to sit together in heavenly places, and to feed in the fat pastures of His fulness, that filleth all in all.

This hath been effected by the hand and power of the Most High, who hath also preserved us unto this day through many trials and tribulations ; and again and again when our enemies have risen up to destroy us, even then hath the Lord

been our defence, and confounded our persecutors; so that we yet live, blessed be the name of the Lord! the remembrance of which infinite, tender mercies from the Father, that we have received, have a heavenly influence upon my heart at this time; which causeth me to say: What manner of love is this! Oh the height and depth and infiniteness of the same! The beauty thereof hath ravished my heart; the strength thereof hath overcome me; and the virtue thereof hath overcome me; and the virtue thereof hath filled my soul: and this is the present frame of my spirit, full of love and good-will to the Lord God, and to all his saints, and particularly unto you, unto whom my spirit desireth, in the Lord, increase of peace, and mercies, and blessings, and all heavenly virtue unto you all; for I am under particular engagements unto you, more than unto many.

1st, Because my labour and service in the work of the gospel hath been more amongst you than amongst others; even for divers years have I been conversant among you, in the administration of the gift of the gospel; by dispensing the word of life, to the converting of some, and to the strengthening and confirming of others, in the way of the Lord. And let the just God bear witness, of that faithfulness, and integrity, and sincerity of heart, in which he hath carried me amongst you, while

many precious days I have passed away with you, and have not sought yours but you; nor do I desire ought concerning you, but your faithfulness to the Lord; and your growth and establishment in the wisdom of Christ Jesus, and that blessings and peace may ever rest with you. And seeing it is thus that some of my precious years, in the service of God, have been spent amongst you; therefore is my heart and spirit engaged to you wards, even while I live, to advise you and exhort you, and to pray for you, that you may be found in the faith, and established in the truth, and confirmed in the possession that never fades away.

2d, In respect of that place of your outward residence, that great city I mean where Satan's seat is, and where wickedness abounds, and many temptations and provocations which may attempt to draw you from the Lord. I do know the dangers are many, which may easily be met withall in that place; there is both the love, glory, and excellency of this world near unto you, and also the terrors, threats, losses, and persecutions of this evil world, even dwelling with you; all which may work upon some, many fears and doubts, and beget temptations to the denying of the Lord. And seeing the danger is such to you wards, in that place, even more than to some others, therefore is my soul engaged to admonish, and instruct, and

pray for your preservation unto the end, that ye may walk as the Lord's, and to his glory.

3d, And also my desires are for you, that blessing and peace may be multiplied unto you, and that you may walk in the wisdom and power of the Lord, in this respect; that truth may be honoured, and crowned with dominion, and authority, and good report, in that great city, by your faithfulness, and patience, and diligence, and all the fruits of righteousness; for as many temptations do attend you, as I have said before, so also many eyes are upon you, beholding what you are, and what you do, and what will become of you. And if you walk in faithfulness and righteousness, and be preserved unto the Lord in boldness and valour, for his name's sake; this will magnify the truth, and crown it with honour, and strengthen and comfort many that are weak; and be a joy to all the upright; and it will confound your enemies, and put them to shame, and limit the unreasonable spirit of the powers of darkness, when our enemies see your just, faithful, righteous, and inoffensive manner of walking in all things. And therefore, for this cause, my heart is engaged to pray for you; seeing the eyes of many are upon you, to mark your ways and doings, and what will be the end.

And now dearly beloved, as by the free grace and kindness of God, ye are called unto this calling, and are renewed and changed into the life of righteousness; so it is by the same grace and power of the Father, that ye must stand and be preserved unto the end; for by grace and faith we all stand, even through diligence, faithfulness, and watchfulness in the same grace, being obedient unto its teachings, and fruitful in its motions, and walking by its rule, in meekness and lowliness of heart, in sincerity and godly fear; not being or doing any thing of ourselves, distinct or divided from this grace; but being and doing all things through the grace of God dwelling in us: and this is the highest perfection of saints. Every one's highest state admits of watchfulness, and faithfulness, and obedience, and to hearken to the Lord and do his will in all things; and whatsoever is of ourselves and related to the outward world, may be kept in subjection by His power, that He alone may rule, and be exalted in heaven and earth; and in all things what we are and what we do.

And wait upon the Lord, that ye may be established and settled in the truth, and that ye may be confirmed therein for ever, as being natural heirs of the possession of grace and truth, to do, and walk, and live, according to his will; being so ~~in~~herited as never to go forth any more, and able

to say, Nothing can separate us from the love of God; not death, nor life, nor any other thing.

For I would put you in mind, and ye also know it, how that many have been touched in their heart with the sense of the Lord, and his love, yea and many have enjoyed of the good gift of God, and walked with us for a time, but have not remained unto the end; but have started aside from the Lord, and been overcome with the temptations of this world; even to the forsaking of the way of truth and righteousness; and such have dishonoured the Lord, and forfeited their place and inheritance in God, and become hardened in their hearts, and dead to God; and the latter end of such hath been worse than their beginning; though yet for a time such walked with us, and tasted of the good gifts of God, yet are become reprobates, because their hearts have not been firm, and constant, and sound, and approved to God; but of an evil frame and temper of spirit, ambitious, vain-glorious, self-seeking, and such like; which spirit could not retain the gift of God, but abused it and perverted it from its proper end.

And therefore, dearly beloved, it is exceeding precious to have a heart and spirit tried and approved of the Lord; a good and honest heart; an upright and contrite spirit; for that will abide in

faithfulness unto God, through all tribulations and trials. If the heart be right in the sight of God, whatsoever the knowledge be, or whether the gifts be little or great, yet the Lord's presence is there, and such are blessed; so that it's not enough, only to have a touch and taste of the loving-kindness of God; but every one must be established therein, in an approved heart and tried spirit; which can endure all things, and not be shaken, nor moved; and it's only that kind of spirit which is meek and lowly, sincere and upright, which is established in the truth, and which only can remain immovable.

And according to the ancient doctrine of Christ, which ye have believed, every one must look to your own particular standing, and must feel your own particular joy, peace, and comfort; and must receive the assurance of life in your own souls; for it is an everlasting word. Every one must stand by their own; by what they feel and enjoy of eternal life in their own hearts; that only is every one's security and assurance, in the kingdom of peace and glory; and it is the height of perfection to have the seal of the Spirit of God in our consciences, witnessing to us *that we are the Lord's*. And blessed are they that have this testimony, even that of the Spirit of the Father, which is the everlasting comforter against all sorrow, and the perfect seal against all doubts, and the sure

guide against all opposition. This is the office of the Spirit of the Lord, and it's work in the hearts of his children.

Therefore my advice is to you, as from the beginning, look to your own, to your own measure of the gift of grace and truth; that only stands when all wanderings after men and things fall; and in that is your security as I have said.

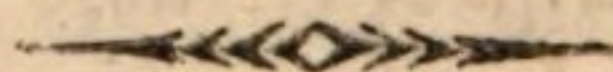
And let your conversations and walkings be such as becometh the gospel of Christ, in all faithfulness and righteousness; that you may be an honour to the Lord in your generation; for this only have we to do in this world, even to show forth his praise and glory, who hath created us in Christ Jesus.

All things in relation to truth, are well in these countries; the dominion of truth is set up over the heads of the wicked; and it is a terror to its enemies, and the joy of all good men; and Friends are faithful in the power of the Lord, and look over this world, to the world that hath no end, and then hope and confidence is in that; and meetings are generally quiet, and the presence of the Lord is amongst his people. And thus to the grace, power, and wisdom of the Lord God, are ye

committed, who is the only Preserver of his children. *Grace and peace be with you all.*

EDWARD BURROUGH.

Underbarrow, the 18th
day of the 8th month,
1661.



CHAPTER XIV.

LIFE OF HUMPHREY SMITH.



OF the time and place of Humphrey Smith's birth, or of his parentage and education, I find no trace, either in his own writings, or in those of his friends concerning him. His residence, when at home, was at Little Cawerne, in Herefordshire. He was early inclined to religion and virtue; but this disposition, so consoling to a *pious* parent, rather excited the disgust of his father, who we are told often checked him because of his solidity. In his youth, and for some time after his marriage, he underwent many close conflicts of spirit, finding much to contend with in himself, both of a natural and spiritual kind, before he could feel his mind liberated from those things which kept him in bondage, and prevented his attaining the glorious liberty of the children of God.

One of his cotemporary Friends, speaking of him, says: "He followed the zealous professors, and increased mightily in that knowledge which stands in the comprehension; yea, exceeded many of his equals; but at last the Lord separated him for his own glory, and sent him forth in his own power and eternal name."

He had been for a considerable time a minister among some of the high professors of that day, and, I suppose, about the year 1654, joined himself to the despised people called Quakers, among whom he found relief to his deeply conflicted mind, and soon afterward became a zealous and successful preacher in this society, many being added to their numbers through the means of his gospel labours.

In the year 1655, he was committed to prison at Evesham in Worcestershire, being arrested with some other Friends at a meeting there. The place of their confinement was very small, without light, or any convenience necessary for cleanliness and decency. In this place they were confined above fourteen weeks, experiencing many acts of cruelty from an unfeeling jailer, who acted under the direction, however, of a still more unfeeling magistrate, Edmund Young, the mayor of that town.

Besides this imprisonment, he suffered several others, particularly at Exeter and Winchester. In the latter place he appears to have been twice imprisoned; first in the year 1658, and the second time in 1661 & 1662. During his first confinement, he was again put into a very offensive situation; for he dates a paper entitled, "The just Complaint of the Afflicted," &c. from "a filthy prison and place unfit for men, at Winchester, this 24th of the 8th month, 1658." His latter imprisonment, which only terminated with his life, seems to have been in the same, or a similar, place. His mittimus is dated the 14th day of October, 1661; and about that time, in the succeeding year, his health sunk under his severe sufferings, from which death afforded him a release, that his cruel persecutors could not be prevailed on to grant; though his detention appears to have been as contrary to law, as it was to justice and mercy.

During his sickness he was preserved in much patience and resignation, and "spake several precious words to Friends, signifying to them that he was given up in the will of the Lord, either in life or death." At a time when the fever was strong upon him, he said: "My heart is filled with the power of God. It is good for a man at such a time as this, to have the Lord to be his friend." At another time he expressed himself thus: "Lord!

thou sentest me forth to do thy will, and I have been faithful to thee in my small measure, which thou hast committed unto me; but if thou wilt yet try me further, thy will be done."

Near the time of his departure, he was engaged in earnest supplication to the Lord, that he would deliver his people from their cruel oppressors, and that those who had been convinced by him might experience the Lord to be their teacher; saying also, "O Lord! hear the inward sighs and groans of thine oppressed, and deliver my poor soul from the oppressor. O Lord! hear me. O Lord! uphold and preserve me. I know that my Redeemer liveth. Thou art strong and mighty, Oh Lord!" In this state of mind did this innocent sufferer and faithful minister of the gospel, quit this state of conflict, there is good reason to believe, for that crown of righteousness, which is the reward of those, who have fought the good fight, have kept the faith, and have loved the appearing of Jesus Christ.

During Humphrey Smith's different imprisonments, he represented his suffering case, and laid it closely upon his persecutors. In the piece already noticed, written during his confinement at Winchester, he thus addresses the magistrates of the county of Hants: "Oh, my heart is enlarged,

and I am filled with the indignation of the Lord, and overcome with the power of his might! Many woes could I from the Lord declare, and much of his judgment make known unto you; yea, many lines might I write, and unfold the mysteries of his power, which from your eyes are hid; and long hath my soul mourned in secret for you; and because of the fierce terrors of the Lord which you cannot escape, mine eyes have been filled with tears, and my heart with sorrow; and that for you, Oh ye blind, scornful, and rebellious men, that rule this county! The Lord God will bring shame upon you, and your names shall rot, and be left for an evil savour for the generations to come."

This prophetic warning was soon fulfilled upon these persecuting magistrates, who were of the high professors in the time of Oliver Cromwell. It was written in the year 1658, and in 1660, Charles the Second was admitted to the government of these realms, the consequences of which it is needless to relate.

The above was not the only instance of prophetic foresight, with which this Friend appears to have been endued. In the collection of his works, which are contained in a small quarto volume of between 3 and 400 pages, I find a piece, entitled, "The vision of Humphrey Smith which

he saw concerning London, in the 5th month in the year 1660, being not long after the king came in." In this vision he foretells a great fire in London, which accordingly took place in the year 1666. These are his words: "As for the city herself, and her suburbs, and all that belonged to her, a fire was kindled therein, but she knew not how, even in her goodly places; and the kindling of it was in the foundations of her buildings, and there was none could quench it; neither was there any able, and the burning thereof was exceeding great, and it burned inward, in a hidden manner, which cannot be expressed; and the fire consumed foundations which the city stood upon, and the tall buildings fell; and it consumed all the lofty things therein, and the fire searched out all hidden places, and burned most in secret places; but the consumation was exceeding great with which it consumed."

During his last imprisonment, and only about a month before his decease, he wrote a letter to a near relation. The excellency of the matter, and the state of mind in which it represents him, are such as lead me to believe the insertion of it will be acceptable to my readers, and form an agreeable conclusion to the account of this extraordinary man.

The letter had the following superscription:

“ This for my nearly related friend Elizabeth Smith, at Little Cawerne :

“ The God of Heaven that made me, and the Lord God of power that called me to obey and follow him, even in that day when I was not acquainted with his voice; and who hath been my guide, defence, succour, and comfort unto this day and moment, and who hath ever upheld me as a father, the child, by the arm of his power, whom the world neither did nor can by its wisdom ever know; who is the only wise, invisible Spirit, that upholdeth all things by the Word of his power; who is dreadful to the *Heathen* that know him not, and more precious than ever can be expressed with tongue or pen, unto those who have felt and received, and live in, the true sense of the enlarging incomes of the virtue of his power; the life whereof to them is most desirable.

My strength, life, and refuge alone is He, whose service I have no cause to decline, and whose precious, powerful call he never gave me cause to repent; for with himself he hath, and doth daily gratify me with a full reward for all, and all manner of my manifold trials, and daily sufferings and exercises which I meet with in the way; but really

and absolutely I can truly say, that none of these things move me in the least, from that foundation upon which the God of Heaven and Earth hath long since established me, that I might stand for Him, and the glory of his name, who hath both set and appointed me thereunto, and given me courage as a fortified tower, to stand as a mark for the adversaries of Sion, to vent forth the utmost of their limited fury.

And in the Lord my strength is my confidence; neither have I believed that ever I should distrust Him, though since the day that I have known him, he hath even suffered the sorrows of death, and the pangs of hell, and the powers of unutterable darkness, at some times, to compass me in on every side, and to lift up themselves in the vaunting arrogancy of the swelling pride thereof, as mountains never to be removed. But behold He who hath his way in the whirlwind, and his path through the midst of the deepest ocean. Him alone it was that my broken heart was, by the power of his constraining love, resolved to follow for ever, even through the greatest difficulties, and the hardest straits, trials, and hardships, with all manner of inward and outward sufferings, that might be permitted to happen unto, or fall upon, any one of the children of men.

O that I could now sufficiently declare his goodness, and so fully and effectually make mention of his power, as it deserveth; or as the Lord hath given into my heart to desire of him to be made use of, in the declaration or manifestation thereof, in this my day, unto the sons or children of men! Surely when I am waiting of him, and of his unutterable goodness and power, my words and lines are also short of setting forth the virtue and fulness of the most unexpressible, divine excellency thereof, that sometimes I am rather ready to dwell in silence with and in the fulness thereof, which overcomes with unutterable virtue, than to be writing of that which in itself can never be written, though what is written, may be by, and with, and from the overflowings of the same; and so be as drops or little streams of heavenly water, to refresh the dry and thirsty land, which therein doth its service; and then the praise thereof is to return unto Him who is the alone fountain of all virtue, and the life which giveth life, even unto the dead that hear his voice; whereby He comes to be known to be *Infinite* in wisdom, power, and virtue; whom my soul doth honour, my heart doth praise, and my spirit adoreth for ever; for none is like to Him, neither doth my soul desire any other but Him, whilst in this body, or for evermore in the life which yet doth come.

Let all that know Him bow before him; and let all that hear his voice be humble and meek, and let every one that truly desires after him, wait with diligence and in patience upon Him; and let all that are faithful to him, rejoice in his love, and prize him for much more than the liberty of their bodies, or the enjoyment of thousands and thousands of thousands of temporal, visible, earthly things; all which are his, and He is ours; yea He is certainly mine and I am his, and my soul doth magnify him, and my spirit doth yet breathe, further to sound forth his praises, not only all the days of my life, whilst in this earthly tabernacle; but likewise in the hearts of thousands of them yet unborn, and among the generations that are yet to come, by my faithful, upright testimony, and the record thereof, which may remain, when the God and Father of my life hath gathered me, with the rest of his servants of old, to live with Him, in the delightful ocean, of the infinite fulness of his most desirable power, and precious presence; the streams whereof already are as the free issuings forth of life eternal, and as the streams of mercy, and the dews of the morning, refreshing even the outmost borders of my dwelling, and comforting the mournful places of my habitation.

Who can express his goodness! What man can utter his bounty! or how can man either in

words or with pen, sufficiently signify forth, the fulness and virtue of that which passeth knowledge! Behold my dwelling is in it, and my life is bound up with the innocent lambs, who live in the feeling virtue of that, which much superaboundeth the most pleasant and delightful words, that ever my tongue can utter, and yet those that hear them, hear the truth, in the which the life doth stand; and they that hear the truth, hear Him from whence the life doth come; which life itself, in the power and virtue of it, is the centre of the upright, the refuge of the innocent, and the thing itself unto which itself is drawing and gathering, that it may be known within; even to those who have been astray therefrom, that the *one fold*, the *one succour*, the *one food*, the *one shepherd*, the *one refuge*, the *one spirit*, the *one heart*, and the *one mind*, may be known; and so the *one God*, in the *only one unity*, worshipped, served, and praised, from the power, life, and virtue of *the one Spirit*, which comes from the *only one God of heaven and earth*; before whom let the *heathen be astonished*, and the *ungodly fear and tremble*, and the *brambles of the earth prepare for the day of his righteous judgments and fiery indignation*; [with] *which*, as the *breath of his nostrils*, being mixed with flames of endless burnings, He will plead with his own open adversaries; which shall be more fully manifest, in the great day of the Lord,

when all mankind must give an account to Him, both of idle and wicked words; and likewise of their deeds done in the body.

“ The Lord God hasten that day, and let Him come, even Him who cometh as a thief in the night, even the Lord Jesus Christ, who said, ‘ *I am the Truth,*’ the Spirit whereof the world cannot receive, but we have known him, and received him, and know that he is true, and have believed on him, and have often drunk of the living water that springeth up unto life eternal, in those that truly believe. And this I say, for ever blessed are they that believe and endure to the end; for whom God’s crown of life is prepared, and for all who give up their lives, and suffer faithfully for the honour of him, who hath so far honoured them, as to account them worthy to bear their testimony and to suffer for him; in the which, I say, the Lord preserve my friends and brethren every where, who have tasted of God’s loving kindness, and remain sensible at present of the meekness of his love. And let all Friends so dwell in the faith which is the gift of God over the world, as to live thereby, and not to lose the crown of glory and immortality, which was desired from the breathings of the seed, in the days of Jacob’s captivity.

And the Lord God of my life, preserve and defend the plants of righteousness, even by his own power, and his own Spirit, in that day, and at that time, when all other helps may not be available ; that then the sufficiency of the greatness of his own wisdom and strength, may be apparent ; and then, most happy shall those be, who are found worthy to suffer and endure all manner of trials, cruelties, and hardships, for Him and his name's sake ; and to live and reign, and enjoy his unutterable peace and rest, which is in himself, treasured up as a *full reward* ; and much more than could have been expected, for the upright in heart, who end their days in truth, and finish their course in righteousness, and lay down their lives for his sake, to live with him evermore.

“ And this is that thou and others may hear from me, and know that I remain in the service of God, and in faithful long-sufferings for the gospel of his Son, as at this day, being the 6th of the 7th month, 1662, in the strait prison at Winchester, where I am known by this name,

HUMPHREY SMITH.”

CHAPTER XV.

LIFE OF JOHN AUDLAND.



JOHN AUDLAND has been already mentioned in the life of John Camm, who was his intimate friend and frequent companion in gospel labour. John Audland was born of respectable parents, in the neighbourhood of his friend's residence, not far from Kendal, about the year 1630. Whilst a child he was disposed to youthful amusements; but when about seventeen years of age, he became religiously inclined. He read the Holy Scriptures diligently, associating himself with the most religious people he could find. Having a good understanding and retentive memory, he became, like Apollos, "mighty in the Scriptures;" could discourse largely of religion, and became an eminent teacher in a society which was separated from the national way of worship. But though a dissenter, he frequently attended the public places of

worship, where he often preached to the people, and many flocked to hear him.

This he practised before he joined the Society called Quakers, and the circumstance is a confirmation of a remark in the preceding volume, that this practice was not unfrequent in those times, and takes off much of the objection which has been made to our Friends preaching in those places, even after the minister had finished his service. And here I shall once for all remark, that I find very few instances of our Friends interrupting the minister, while engaged in preaching, a practice which I think requires something very extraordinary to justify it. Yet I remember a few years ago a circumstance of this kind occurred, in a Popish congregation in Ireland, in which the conduct of the zealous opposer appeared to be generally admired; nor do I recollect any censure being passed upon it by the Protestant writers who noticed it. So differently do we feel, according to our different opinions or interests.

But to return from this digression, John Audland continued to minister among a particular class of dissenters, until the memorable meeting at Firbank Chapel, where he had preached, the day George Fox came there. After this meeting, George Fox went to John Audland's house,

and by the instrumentality of the public ministry and private endeavours of that eminent and successful gospel labourer, John Audland was so fully convinced of the rectitude of the doctrines preached, that he, as did many others, laid aside their high profession, and joined in fellowship with a despised but simple-hearted people, among whom they found that rest and peace which their souls had long sought after. He was now brought into a state of deep humiliation and self-abasement. "A great hunger and thirst," to use the words of Tho. Camm, "the Lord having raised in his heart and soul, for a Saviour, one of a thousand, that could give a ransom for his soul, and redeem him from the pit of corruption; for he saw all his great profession, all his wisdom and knowledge, could not help him." In this state of mind he continued a considerable time; but the Lord heard his humble prayers, and brought his soul out of the depths into which it had been plunged; enabling him to rejoice with the joy of salvation, and qualifying him for speaking a word in due season to the afflicted traveller Zionward. He soon became a public and able minister "the Lord anointing him to preach and publish redemption in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and deliverance to the captive exile, in which work he was found faithful, being filled with power and might from on high, and girded with the strength of the Almighty."

At this time I suppose John Audland to have been in the twenty-third year of his age. In his twenty-first year he had married Ann Newby, a virtuous and religious young woman of Kendal, who proved a true helpmeet to him in every respect. He now gave himself up to the service of the ministry, and great success attended his gospel labours.

About the year 1654, he travelled southward with several of his friends, who, dividing themselves, went into different parts, and met afterward in London. John Audland, accompanied by Thomas Airey, had been at Bristol in his way to the Metropolis, and after spending some time in London, he returned to Bristol, accompanied by his particular friend, John Camm. In his first visit to this city, he had held several meetings with the Independents and Baptists, in their own meeting-houses; but he and his present companion now held many meetings in more public places. The success of their labours is already noticed in the life of John Camm. John Audland being in the vigour of youth, and zealous to promote the good cause which he had espoused, exerted himself very much in the large meetings which were held in the open air, in Bristol and its neighbourhood. By this, together with the bodily sufferings he underwent from the abuse of the rabble and the persecution

of the magistrates, it appears likely that a foundation was laid for that pulmonary disorder which terminated his life about nine years after.

Respecting one of these meetings at Bristol, William Sewel gives this account: "In a meeting which he once had in a field without Bristol, after John Camm had left off speaking, he stood up with an awful and shining countenance, and lifting up his voice as a trumpet, he said: 'I proclaim a spiritual war with the inhabitants of the earth, who are in the fall and separation from God, and I prophesy to the four winds of heaven.' Thus he went on with mighty power, exhorting to repentance, and spoke with such a piercing authority, that some of the auditory fell on the ground, and cried out under the sense of their transgressions."

Charles Marshall, who calls John Audland "his father in Christ Jesus," gives a similar account of this meeting, and adds: "Indeed it was a notable day, worthy to be left on record, that our children may read and tell to their children, and theirs to another generation, that the worthy noble acts of the arm of God's salvation may be remembered."

After his return from this journey, he was engaged in religious visits to other places. In the

year 1656, his beloved friend and fellow-labourer, John Camm, was removed from him by death. This loss was closely felt by John Audland. It was, however, in some measure supplied by his friend's son, Thomas Camm, who afterwards became Audland's frequent companion in his gospel labours, which he continued as long as his bodily health permitted.

When his health began materially to decline, does not clearly appear. In the year 1663, he became confined by indisposition, during which time he often said : " Ah ! those great meetings in the orchard at Bristol, I may not forget ! I would so gladly have spread my net over all, and have gathered all, that I forgot myself ; never considering the inability of my body. But it's well ; my reward is with me, and I am content to give up and be with the Lord ; for that my soul values above all things."

In the course of his illness he had a dream, or vision, respecting two of his friends and fellow-labourers in the work of the ministry. As it contains some instructive matter, I shall give the substance of it as related by his widow. " He saw a very large mine, where there was very much precious ore to be digged out, but with great and hard labour. And the Lord and Master had called

him with many more to labour in this mine, in order to work and dig out this good and precious ore; and he who was most diligent in labour, was to be most liberally rewarded. Now the command was, that they might work in every part of the mine, but must all gather to one place and to one heap; and the work prospered and became exceedingly great to the glory of the Lord, and their joy and comfort who were found diligent. In process of time he looked behind him upon others that were labouring, and amongst them beheld two, who had been ancient labourers, to begin to slack, and would but work where it was most easy, in their own time, and by their own appointment; not regarding the command of their Lord; and not only so, but when they found a piece of ore more rich and goodly than some other, whether it was of their own digging or not, they did gather it to another private heap of their own for themselves, to their own benefit, and not the Lord's.

“On seeing this, he cried out in the grief and bitterness of his exercise, to see such disobey the Lord's command, ‘Ah, Lord! it was thy command that we should all work at thy appointment, and gather to one heap; and for a time it was so, and thy heap increased and thy work prospered; but now there are two that have begun to gather to their own heap, and not to thee.’ The exercise

of mind he was now under awoke him, and his wife finding him much affected, he informed her the cause, and told her he believed the thing would come to pass, which it accordingly did in the course of a few years.

His hectic fever increasing upon him, with loss of sleep and other symptoms, which indicated his approaching dissolution, he was often visited by his friends and neighbours, by whom he was much beloved. In these visits his mouth was frequently opened in religious communications, to the great refreshment of his friends; and often, whilst in bed, would he raise himself on his knees, and fervently pray for them, and that the Lord would prosper his work, in this and surrounding nations.

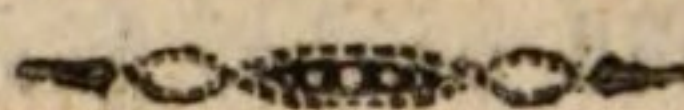
In this state of mind he continued to the end, saying, That there was nothing for which he desired to live, except the comfortable enjoyment of his friends, in the fellowship of the life of truth; and that he might be a comfort to his beloved wife. Her situation was at this time particularly trying, being delivered of a son about ten days after her husband's decease. But, though closely attached to each other, resignation to the Divine will, appears in a remarkable manner to have been attained by them both. To God he often recom-

mended his dear wife and child, encouraging her to give him up to the will of the Almighty, "whose," said he, "I am, being made acceptable in his beloved Son."

Thus did this faithful labourer in the Lord's vineyard, terminate his short but devoted life, on the 24th of the 1st month, 1663. He was interred the day following at Birkrigg Park, where the remains of his friend John Camm had been deposited about six years before.

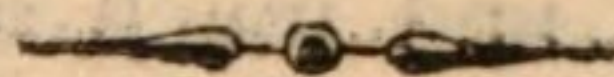
John Audland did not publish much from the press. His printed works, except two or three controversial pieces, consist of Epistles to his Friends, for whom he possessed much love; and there is reason to believe he was no less beloved by them. He appears indeed by various accounts to have been of a very amiable disposition and a comely person. He was also a man of good natural abilities, of a noble spirit, and an humble heart. These accomplishments being united with much religious knowledge and experience, rendered his company pleasing and instructing. In his ministerial communications he was large and affecting, having a word in season to all conditions. While he possessed great respect and esteem for those who were in Christ before him, he entertained much tenderness to such as were young in

the ministry, being always ready to encourage and give place to them. In short, he was abundantly furnished both with natural and spiritual gifts; which he exercised to the praise and glory of Him who gave them.



CHAPTER XVI.

LIFE OF WILLIAM CATON.



IT is not easy exactly to ascertain either the place or the time of William Caton's birth, but I suppose he was born somewhere in Lancashire, and about the year 1636. His parents appear to have been careful in his education, both with regard to religion and learning; and he being a child seriously disposed and of good abilities, their care respecting him was not in vain. When he was about fourteen years of age, his father took him to Judge Fell's, at Swarthmore Hall, to be educated with his son, by a priest who was related to the Catons. Here William became the companion of the judge's son, both in his studies and amusements. To be placed in so respectable and valuable a family, produced feelings of gratitude to Divine Providence for so great a favour; and

his mind being frequently brought under religious considerations and impressions, he was often engaged in secret supplications to the Divine Being; and the worldly enjoyments and pleasures of which he partook, became as matters of inferior importance.

After some time of private instruction, William Caton went with the son of Judge Fell to a school at Hawkshead. While at this school he met with many temptations, and much unprofitable company. The lads did not continue long here, but soon returned to Swarthmore. In both these situations Caton was often humbled under a sense of Divine love and mercy to his soul; though at times under close conviction for sin and disobedience. He was now about fifteen years of age; and it being much the practice in the judge's family to repeat the sermons which they had heard, and to paraphrase upon them, he endeavoured to accomplish himself this way, but without the satisfaction which his soul desired.

While matters stood thus, George Fox paid his first visit to Judge Fell's. This was in the year 1652. William Caton was at first disgusted with George Fox's non-compliance with customs and salutations, to which he had been used. There was, however, a secret something which attracted

his mind to this minister of the gospel, and to the testimony which he bore to the Light of Christ in the heart. He therefore was, with the rest of the family, except the judge, who was not at home, so effectually reached by the ministry of George Fox, as to be convinced of the truth of the doctrine which he taught.

The witness for God in his conscience being thus awakened, he became humbled under a sense of his sins; but the evil nature was not yet fully subjected, and he underwent many close conflicts before he experienced his mind settled in peace. During this time of exercise, his friend Margaret Fell, the judge's wife, took notice of him, and employed him at home to teach her younger children, which preserved him from many unpleasant circumstances that he might have met with at school. She also made him her amanuensis, and took him with her into the company of her friends, by which he was much edified, and his mind increasingly drawn into love and unity with those, to whom she had then attached herself.

He was now seventeen years of age, and having undergone those dispensations, which may be compared to the fire, the sword, and the hammer, he was afterwards introduced into a state of spiritual enjoyment, under which he could say: "Oh the

preciousness and excellency of that day! Oh! the glory and the blessedness of that day! How should I demonstrate it; or by what means should I explain it, that generations to come might understand it, and give praise to the Lord Jehovah!"

William Caton, who wrote an account of his own life, enlarges much on the benefits and enjoyments of which he partook whilst in this excellent family at Swarthmore, which was then and for many years afterwards much distinguished for its hospitality and for its general reception of the members of the new society. Caton says that Friends from five or six counties would frequently be there at the same time; and George Fox frequently resorting there during the years 1652 and 1653, Caton had many opportunities of partaking of his instructive society; from which he received much religious benefit; George Fox treating him with much fatherly attention and kindness; Margaret Fell, as already noticed, was also very attentive to him, and acted the part of a mother in every respect.

These great advantages were not lost upon this young man's improveable mind. He grew in that grace and saving knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, to which it was the peculiar care of the ministers of this society to turn the attention of those among whom they ministered. He not only

experienced the work of his own soul's salvation to go forward; but feeling the love of God shed abroad in his heart, and a zeal for the cause of truth and righteousness, he became constrained under these feelings some times to attend the public places of worship, and "to declare," as he himself expresses it, "against the deceit of the priests and the sins of the people; and to warn all to repent. He now subjected himself to much bodily suffering; but this was little to him in comparison of the inward enjoyments of which he partook; so that his experience was like that which the holy apostle mentions: "As our sufferings abound in Christ, so also doth our consolation abound by Christ."

William Caton continued at Swarthmore till the 11th month, 1654, when, though only in the nineteenth year of his age, he became concerned to visit his friends in some of the southern parts of the nation. His separation from the family where he had so long and so comfortably resided, was a close trial to their mutual friendship; but the consideration of the good cause in which he was about to engage, reconciled their minds to the trying separation; and they parted from each other in the sense of much love and unity.

Leaving Swarthmore, he passed through Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire to Badgley or

Badesley, in the county of Warwick. Here he met with a considerable number of his brethren, from whom he received much encouragement. He proceeded thence to Wellingborough in Northamptonshire, where he found many who had been convinced of the same doctrines which he had embraced, and they were much refreshed together.

While at Wellingborough he was imprisoned a single night, and the next day released. He next travelled to Cambridge, where he had a good opportunity to visit his friends; after which he proceeded to Norwich. It was now the depth of winter, and he and his companion travelling on foot, they had many difficulties to encounter in their journey. At Norwich they found several north country Friends in prison, whom, he says, "we visited, and with whom we were sweetly refreshed."

After some public service in this city, he proceeded towards London, where he was cordially received by his friends; and in a little time several other Friends from the north came there. At one time there were ten or twelve ministers in the city, "most of us," to use his own words, "came out of the North, even plain, honest, upright men, such as the Lord was pleased to make use of in that day; and very diligent we were in his work night and day,

labouring faithfully, as much as in us lay, to exalt his name over all, and make his truth and salvation known even unto all."

During his stay in London he met with John Stubbs, with whom, after finishing his service in the city, he travelled into Kent. In this county they had much religious service; and Luke Howard, of Dover, and Samuel Fisher, of Lydd, were among the fruits of their gospel labours; these two useful members of the society being convinced by the means of their ministry. Between Dover and Lydd they visited Folkstone, Hide, and Romney, in all which places they met with considerable success, though sometimes it was attended with much bodily suffering. From Lydd they went to Ashford, Tenterden, Cranbrook, and Staplehurst. At the two last places they met with a people who were ready to receive their testimony; and, to use Caton's own words, "several large and precious meetings we had among them; and the power and presence of the Lord was much with us, in which we rejoiced together, freely distributing the Word of Life unto them, which at that time dwelt richly and plenteously in our hearts." At these places the people pressed them to take some money, which they found some difficulty in refusing to accept.

These appear to have been the first Friends who visited Kent, and established meetings in that

county. On their return towards London, they came to Maidstone, where they underwent some cruel persecution. They were here on the first day of the week; and John Stubbs went to the public place of worship, and William Caton to the meeting of the Independents. John was sent that day to the house of correction, and William the day following. After being plundered of the contents of their pockets, they were stripped, and their necks and arms put into the stocks. When released from this situation, they were put in irons or great logs of wood, and then required to work. This they refused, having broken no law, and they were kept several days with the allowance of only a little water. Some women, and even the malefactors, would have given them some provisions, but they declined accepting their kindness. After a few days, the report of this cruel treatment spread into the town, and the magistrates became so ashamed, that they restored some of the property taken from them, and conveyed them out of the town in different directions, neither of them knowing where the other was gone. They, however, soon met in London, and found their minds engaged to return to the place where they had been so cruelly treated. This was no small trial of their faith and obedience; but being resigned to the service, they went again into Kent, and to Maidstone, where however they met with no ma-

terial opposition; but afterwards passed by Canterbury and Sandwich to Dover.

While William Caton was at Dover, he found his mind engaged to pass over to Calais. This was in the 4th month, 1655. On his arrival at this town, he found its inhabitants greatly sunk in superstition and idolatry. This was very distressing to his feeling mind; and not being able to speak French, he could not easily relieve himself of the burden which he was under; but after being there a little time, during which he generally resided in a ship, some of the most respectable inhabitants, hearing of him, sent to the vessel, and had him conveyed to a house, where many of the principal people were gathered together, and a Scotch nobleman being in company, he acted as interpreter. "I had," says William Caton, "a very gallant opportunity to declare the truth among them; and precious dominion the Lord was pleased to give me over their vain, light, frothy minds and spirits."

Soon after this opportunity, he felt himself at liberty to return to Dover, where he found his companion John Stubbs, who inclining to go to Holland, William Caton was disposed to accompany him. They went by Gravesend and Colchester to Yarmouth. Here they waited about three weeks for a passage, and when they were

taken into the vessel in which they expected to be conveyed, the master finding who and what they were, sent them again to land. After this disappointment they went to Sunderland, from which place William Caton went to visit his friends at Swarthmore, by whose society he was, as usual, much refreshed.

After he had spent some time at this hospitable mansion, he went to Shields, whence he and John Stubbs sailed in a vessel for Flushing in Zealand; where and at Middleburgh they had some religious service, attended also with some bodily suffering. They did not stay long here, but took shipping for Rotterdam, where their service was much limited by not being able to speak the language of the country, and not having a faithful interpreter. They were the first Friends who visited this city and country; but after they had relieved their minds here, they again took shipping for Zealand, and thence for England. After a stormy passage, they landed at Hartlepool, whence William Caton went through the county of Durham, &c. to his home at Swarthmore.

He did not continue long out of service, but soon left Swarthmore to visit some parts of Scotland, his friend John Stubbs again joining him. It was in the beginning of the 10th month, now

the 12th, that they entered this country by Berwick, where William Caton was put out of the town; but afterwards returned. After some religious service here, they proceeded to Edinburgh, where they separated in much love. William Caton continued in Edinburgh several weeks, having good service there, accompanied by a Friend of the name of John Slee, who joined him after the departure of his former companion. From Edinburgh he travelled to Stirling, Glasgow, and Douglas, in which places he had opportunities of exercising his ministerial gift with some success, and with relief to his own mind. From Douglas he travelled towards England, and again reached Swarthmore before the expiration of the year 1655, according to the Old Style.

This was certainly a year very closely occupied by William Caton. His first departure from Swarthmore was, as is already noticed, in the 11th month, 1654-5; and we now see how much he had travelled and laboured in the work of the gospel, before the commencement of the year 1656, and all this before he was twenty years of age. My readers' reflections will, I apprehend, supersede the necessity of any remarks from me on so extraordinary a circumstance.

About the middle of the 1st month, 1655-6, he left Swarthmore again on a religious visit into

Lancashire, Cheshire, and Staffordshire, in which counties he and his companion, William Simpson, had good service; though not without some bodily sufferings. At Congerton they were imprisoned a few days, and then released. William Caton, about this time, attended a large general meeting in Leicestershire, where he met with his much-valued friend George Fox, whose company as well as the meetings, tended greatly to his comfort and satisfaction.

In the 3d month, 1656, he again left Swarthmore for Scotland; and on his return from that country, he travelled into the south-west parts of England, accompanied by Walter Clements. At Bristol they were more than a little refreshed with Friends, and with seeing how the truth prospered among them." Proceeding into Cornwall, he visited George Fox and some other Friends, who were prisoners in Launceston jail, "where," says Caton, "my refreshment was so much, that my cup was made to overflow."

His companion, it seems, had parted from him at Bristol, to which city he now returned through Devonshire. At Totness he was apprehended, and sent by a pass from one place to another. Being known to be a Quaker, and not a pauper, people were attracted by the circumstance to the

places where he was, which afforded him many opportunities of preaching, and spreading among the people the doctrines which he taught.

Coming to Bristol, he found Francis Howgill, John Audland, and several other of his brethren there from distant parts, by whose society he was much comforted. He now travelled towards Kent, where he visited those in particular, among whom he had successfully laboured, when in that county before. Here I shall transcribe from his own account, the state of his mind at this time: "Many precious and large meetings I had in the county; and the Lord was very much with me, who furnished me plentifully with his word and power, insomuch that I stood admiring at sundry times from whence I had that fulness. And it was not by me only, but by many more, who looking with the eye of reason on my earthly tabernacle, could not expect any great thing from me, being then but about twenty years of age. Yet plenty of heavenly things the Lord was pleased to open in me and through me, to the end that I might communicate the same to the multitude; which sometimes being very great, I was ready to say within myself, where shall I have wherewithal to satisfy all these? When I looked at my own weakness and insufficiency as of myself, I was ready to faint; but when I looked only at the

Lord, and put my confidence entirely in Him, I was strong and courageous. For the Lord showed me by his eternal light, on a time when I was bemoaning my own weakness, and groaning under a sense of the weight of the burden of the service and work of the Lord, saying or thinking within myself, Oh! such and such are so and so fitted and furnished, that they need not care what service they are called unto, but as for me, I am so simple, I am so weak, and I never have any thing before hand, neither do scarce ever know when I go into a meeting of several hundreds, what I shall say, or whether any thing or nothing; yea, when I was full of these and such like reasonings, the Lord showed me, how they that had much had nothing over, and they that had little had no lack, even as it was with the Israelites of old."

Entering meetings in this humble, dependent state of mind, he further observes: "The Lord hath been pleased to give me his word so plentifully, that through Him I was enabled to speak two, three, yea sometimes four hours in a meeting, with little or no intermission; and often it hath been with me, that as I knew not before the meeting what I should speak in the meeting, neither could I well remember after the meeting what I had spoken in it. Now these things I rehearse not for my own praise, but do say, Not unto me, not unto me, that have nothing but what I

have received, be the praise, but unto the Lord alone who is the giver of every good and perfect gift?"

William Caton continued visiting his friends in England, Scotland, and Holland, till the year 1662, when he was married at Amsterdam to Anneken Dirricks. His marriage, however, did not much interrupt his religious service, for in less than three months after its accomplishment, he was engaged to go to England on a religious visit; and a few months after his return to Holland, he went again into England, taking his wife with him. When they had been sometime together in this country, she returned to Holland, and he travelled northward, attending meetings in his way from London to Swarthmore; where, after visiting Friends in the neighbouring counties, he returned, and paid his last visit. George Fox being there, his company added to the pleasure and profit, which that seat of christian beneficence had always afforded him. He took his leave of them "in the fulnes of endeared love, and much brokenness of heart;" and travelled through the county of Durham to Sunderland, where not meeting with a vessel ready to sail for Holland, and inclining to visit Friends in some other places, he went by Shotten, Stockton, and Whitby, to Scarbrough, where, after visiting Friends, he took shipping for Holland. The voyage

proved very tempestuous, and the ship leaky. At length they put into Yarmouth Roads, and while detained there, William Caton went on shore to visit his friends. Being there on the first day of the week, he attended a meeting, where he, with several others under similar circumstances, were apprehended and sent to prison, in which they were confined six months, because they would not take an oath. They were committed on the 4th of 8th month, 1663, and liberated on the 22d of 2d month, 1664.

Here ends William Caton's own account of himself; and I find nothing further of consequence recorded of him till his death in the 10th month of the following year, 1665. He was the author of several publications, among which is an Abridgment of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilius. William Sewel, who was personally acquainted with Caton, says of him: "He was a man not only of literature and zealous for religion, but of a courteous and affable temper and conversation, by which he was in good esteem among those he was acquainted with." He appears indeed to have been a man of great worth; and his removal would, no doubt, be much felt by his friends. But there is great reason to believe that he was one of those who could say, with a holy apostle, "To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain."

CHAPTER XVII.

LIFE OF SAMUEL FISHER.

IN the preceding Memoir, the conversion of Samuel Fisher to the principles of the Quakers, is noticed as the effect of the ministry of William Caton and John Stubbs. The time and place of his birth I have not been able to ascertain. He was educated at one of the universities, and entering into holy orders, as they are called, he first became chaplain to some person of quality, and afterwards was made priest of Lydd in Kent, a living at that time worth about two hundred pounds per annum. While in this situation, he was requested by the master of Luke Howard, an apprentice to a shoemaker at Dover, to converse with the young man respecting a scruple which he entertained about the singing of David's Psalms in places of public worship. Howard explained the reasons of his uneasiness with that practice in such a manner, that Fisher, rather than Howard, was altered in opinion on the subject.

The arguments used on this occasion were these, that God is a Spirit, and must be worshipped in spirit and in truth; but that it was contrary to

truth for a proud man to sing, he was not puffed up in mind, that he had no scornful eye, and did not exercise himself in things too high for him. Further, to sing, rivers of tears run down my eyes, because other men keep not thy law, when those who thus sing, never knew true repentance for their own sins, was such a violation of common morality, as true religion could not sanction.

By this conversation, Fisher, who had already entertained some dissatisfaction with various matters connected with his present employment, grew more uneasy with it. Preaching for hire, and the baptism of infants, became a burden to his tender, feeling mind; and so great was his dedication to that which appeared to be his religious duty, that he voluntarily resigned his lucrative situation, took a farm for the support of his family, and joined himself in society with the Baptists, by whom he was highly esteemed; and he became a minister among them.

When Caton and Stubbs went into those parts, Fisher hospitably entertained them in his house; and their gospel labours made some impression on his mind, though he did not then acknowledge it. After leaving Lydd, and visiting some places thereabout, they returned thither again, when they found their former labours had been blessed, and many persons were now ready to join them. George Hammond, however, a Baptist preacher, publicly

preached against them; which gave Samuel Fisher so much uneasiness, that he stood up in the same meeting, and said to Hammond: "Dear Brother, you are very near and dear to me, but the truth is nearer and dearer. This is the everlasting truth and gospel." This was very trying to Hammond; and, with a mixture of anger and sorrow, he exclaimed: "Our brother Fisher is also bewitched." Fisher made no reply, but attaching himself still more closely to Caton and Stubbs, he joined the religious society to which they belonged. This was in the year 1655.

In the following year Cromwell convened the parliament, which met on the 17th of the 7th month, in the Painted Chamber, Whitehall. Fisher had been under a great exercise for several days, from an apprehension of duty to go there at that time, and to deliver what he considered a message from the Lord to the Protector and Parliament. After much secret conflict of spirit, he resigned himself to this duty, and went to the Painted Chamber at the time appointed. The Protector made a long speech, in the course of which he said, he knew not of one man that suffered imprisonment unjustly in England. As soon as Cromwell had finished his speech, Fisher attempted to deliver what was upon his mind; but he had proceeded a very little in his intended speech, before he was interrupted with the cry of, "A

Quaker, a Quaker; keep him down, he shall not speak." He however proceeded as long as he possibly could, and believed the Protector and Parliament men would have heard him, had not others violently opposed and prevented his speaking.

Being thus prevented from verbally communicating that which was upon his mind, he committed it to writing and published it. The following quotation will show the very low opinion he entertained of the then ruling party in the nation, and the plainness of speech with which he delivered his message, or rather the message of the Lord, to them.

After some introductory words, he expresses himself thus: "Ye are a seed of evil doers, saith the Lord; an hypocritical generation, a people whose heart is not right, and whose spirit is not steadfast with the Lord. Ye have made many shows of seeking my face, but ye have not found it, because ye have not sought it in sincerity. Ye have talked much of turning unto me, but ye have never done it yet with all your hearts; but feignedly, saith the Lord. Ye have seemed much to inquire after me in your long prayers, as if ye did delight to know my ways; but my ways, which are ways of purity, peace, and pleasantness, though grievous to the wicked, ye yet know not, so well as ye might do, did ye stand in my counsel; and so far forth as ye do know of them, ye have no

delight to walk in them, so strait and rugged are they to that nature which ye yet remain in. Ye call out to me after light, as if ye were very desirous to be enlightened; but ye are haters of my light and my life, saith the Lord, even the light in the conscience which I have placed in every one of you. This ye come not closely to, lest ye should be reprov'd by it, but love darkness more than it, because your deeds are evil.

“Ye have fasted often and hung down your heads like a bulrush for a day; but ye have never yet fasted unto me, saith the Lord. You find your own pleasure still; the bands of wickedness are not loosed; you are captivated still in the cords of your own sins; neither have you, in the midst of all your abstinence, abstained yet from the fleshly lusts which war against your souls; but are as proud as ever, as pompous and vain as ever, as luxurious and wanton; as covetous and earthly-minded; as self-seeking; as time-serving; as men-pleasing; as oppressing and unrighteous as before. Ye have often fasted for, but never fully from, your iniquities to this day, saith the Lord. Ye would be counted professors, yea promoters of religion, but are indeed persecutors of the very life and power, and of that people that do believe in the life and power of that same religion, which in form and words ye have long professed.”

After a long remonstrance of this kind, and laying before Oliver and his Parliament the great inconsistency of their conduct, with the spirit of christianity; and predicting their disgrace and downfall, he concludes thus: "What shall one then answer the messengers of the nations? Even this, that the Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of his people have betaken themselves unto it. But all luxurious, wanton, and covetous worldlings, all formal professors and dissembling hypocrites, painted sepulchres and whited walls, base backsliders, and filthy liars, hireling priests and fawning prophets, and all proud oppressors and wicked opposers, and persecutors of Christ in his people, can have no share in it; but are shut out into the lake, and gone down for ever with the uncircumcised into the pit, which hath shut her mouth upon them there, world without end, to be confounded."

Thus plainly did our early Friends deal with that "hypocritical generation," who under pretensions of promoting liberty, both civil and religious, had proved more cruel persecutors than those who had gone before them, and many of them became so darkened in their understandings, as even to plead for persecution and to pray against the spreading of a spirit of toleration. No wonder then that the indignation both of God and of good men was kindled against such a people as this.

The 24th of the 7th month was appointed a day for a public fast and humiliation; and Fisher again attempted to relieve his exercised mind in a public manner. For this purpose he attended the parish worship-house called St. Margaret's, in Westminster. This was the place where the members of parliament were to attend. After two of their ministers had finished their sermons, Fisher attempted to relieve his mind, but with no better success than before. He therefore had recourse to the same expedient, and committed to writing the substance of what he would have verbally communicated. Indeed it is probable he rather enlarged than contracted it; as the piece consists of eight folio pages, and contains much excellent advice as well as close remonstrance on various subjects relating to their public and private conduct.

In the year 1659, he accompanied Edward Burrough to Dunkirk, where they visited the Capuchin and other Friars; also the Jesuits; and had some discourse with them on the subject of the Light of Christ; and warned them of the day that would come upon their idolatrous ways, worships, and works. They had also religious meetings with the English soldiers and their officers; Dunkirk being at that time in possession of the English. They were sent for on their landing by Colonel Alsop, deputy-governor to Lockhart, and when Lockhart returned he also sent for them. To these persons

they explained the nature of their concern, and were civilly treated by them.

Having performed their service at Dunkirk, they returned to England, and in the following year Samuel Fisher and John Stubbs went to Rome, where they entered into conversation with some of the cardinals, and testified against the Popish superstitions. They also distributed books, explanatory of their principles, among the friars, some of whom confessed to the truth of their doctrine; but said that if they should acknowledge this publicly, they might expect to be burnt. Fisher and Stubbs, however, met with no interruption or molestation. In the course of their journey they underwent many difficulties, travelling on foot over the Alps, and in the countries through which they had to pass; but that Divine hand which led them forth, protected and delivered them; and brought them safely back to their native land.

After his return to England, Fisher was seldom out of prison for his religious conduct and principles. In the year 1661, he was arrested at a meeting in Westminster, and committed to the Gatehouse, where he was continued a prisoner for several months, in a small hole, without a chimney, during a cold season of the year. After his release from this imprisonment, he was apprehended as he was walking in the streets of London,

and with nine others was committed to Woodstreet Compter, where the accommodation was so small, that there was not room for all of them to lie down at once. Being taken before the magistrates at Guildhall, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were tendered to him, which of course refusing to take, he was committed to Newgate, where he continued sixteen weeks.

He could not have been long at liberty, before he was again made a prisoner; for I find that on the 21st of the 3d month, 1662, he was arrested in a private house, by a company of soldiers, who showed no cause for their violent conduct, nor any warrant but their swords. After being hurried from place to place, he was at last brought before Richard Brown, a man famous, or rather infamous, for his violent persecuting spirit. By him Fisher was committed to Bridewell. The next day his mittimus was changed, and the charge on which he was committed was for unlawfully assembling to worship. After an imprisonment of six weeks, he was brought up to the sessions at the Old Bailey, where, instead of a legal trial on the subject of his mittimus, the oath was again administered to him, contrary to law, in his situation as a prisoner. He desired the law to be read that required him to take the oath, which, though promised, was not done, but only the form of the oath was read to him. Even when this was done,

time was not afforded for him to give a reply, but the magistrates immediately ordered him to be taken away, a command which the officers executed with that violence which they knew would be acceptable to their superiors. On leaving the court, Samuel Fisher addressed it with these few emphatic words: "If such doings as these ever prosper, it must be when there is no God."

He was now committed to Newgate, where he continued a prisoner about twelve months, many of his friends being in confinement there at the same time. This dear Friend might indeed say with the apostle, "In every place, bonds and afflictions abide me." Before the expiration of the year 1663, a great part of which must have elapsed previous to his liberation from Newgate, he was again arrested and committed to prison. While attending a meeting at Charlewood in Surry, he was taken and committed to the White Lion Jail in Southwark. Here he continued a prisoner till the time of his death, which took place on the last day of the 6th month, 1665. Concerning his decease I find no particulars, except that Sewel says he "died piously."

Samuel Fisher not only laboured and suffered greatly, but also wrote much. His works are published in a folio volume containing nearly 1000 pages, of which his "Rusticus ad Academicos, or

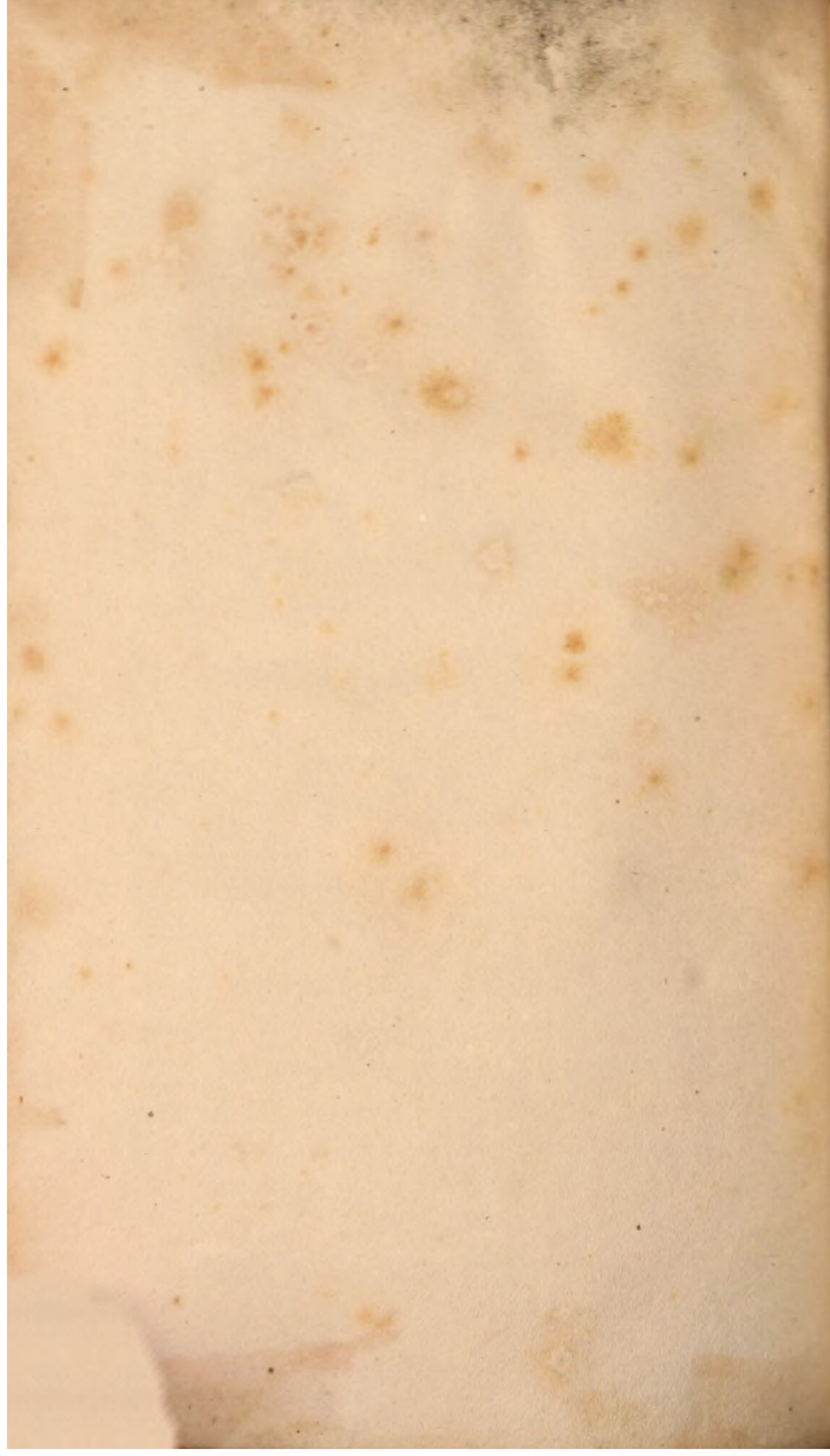
the Rustick's Alarm to the Rabbies," consists of about 750. It is a reply to the aspersions of several men of eminence on the Principles of Friends. They are thus described in the title, "John Owen, D. D. late Dean of Christ's Church Coll. Oxon; Thomas Danson, M. A. once Fellow of Magd. Coll. Oxon, since one of the Seers for the Town of Sandwich in Kent; John Tombs, B. D. once of Bewdley, since of Lemster; Richard Baxter, Minister of Kederminster, another eminent Master in this English Israel." To analyse this work would almost require a volume. It is written in that controversial spirit which characterized the times, and though containing many strong arguments, and manifesting much learning, yet the language is frequently coarser than might have been expected from a man of his abilities and acquirements, and is by no means adapted to the taste of this refined age. The work, however, was very useful at the time of its publication; and William Penn in particular, acknowledges the benefit which he received from reading it.

Besides the above work, he wrote several pieces on the subject of Swearing, being answers to some Writers in Defence of the Practice in Courts of Law. His last publication on this subject was in answer to Dr. Gauden, Bishop of Exeter. To this work he gives a Greek title as well as an English one. The latter being a translation of

the former: "The Bishop busied beside the Business." - It is an able and learned reply to the Bishop's arguments, though rather prolix, containing nearly 100 pages of close printed folio.

It appears from various accounts, that Samuel Fisher was a man of a most amiable disposition and manners. Ellis Hookes, Luke Howard, and Wm. Penn, all speak very highly of his virtues. The latter says, "Though I greatly valued his abilities, employed so accurately in a good cause; yet above all I cannot but admire and love his great self-denial and humility, who from being a Teacher, became willing to be taught; and that most evenness and sweetness of temper his most intimate friends have often observed in him; so that he was not only a good scribe, but a good liver; a christian according to the Apostle James, composed of faith and works; therefore is his name of good savour with the righteous, because he counted nothing dear, in comparison of the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ, which came not by flesh and blood, but by the revelation of the Father of Lights." This testimony of Wm. Penn is abundantly confirmed by his intimate friends, Ellis Hookes and Luke Howard, who speak highly of his christian virtues and patient suffering for the testimony of Jesus.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.





Tuke, Henry

Biographical notices of members of the society of friends

Bd.: 2. J. Parnel, J. Camm, W. Robinson etc. - 1815. - XII, VIII, 232 S.

York 1815

Biogr.c. 313 qf-2

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10071089-3